



Citizen Perspectives on Opinion Formation, Political Parties, and Leadership, 2025

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Introduction

Currently, the majority of individuals utilize social media platforms not only for interpersonal communication with friends and relatives but also as tools for information seeking and sharing. Nepal has witnessed a significant surge in social media use. As a substantial segment of the Nepali population now relies on social media as their primary source of information, platforms such as Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube have emerged as the predominant choices. While traditional media outlets, including radio, television, and newspapers, continue to be used for information consumption, social media has become the primary medium for disseminating, receiving, and deliberating upon information.¹ The influence of social media on public discourse and debate has expanded significantly, whereas the impact of traditional media has experienced a relative decline.² Given that these platforms enable every user to express, share, and re-post opinions to a vast audience, social media has assumed a significant and decisive role in the formation of public opinion.

In recent years, there has been a significant increase in the number of individuals migrating abroad for employment, education, and other purposes; these individuals remain connected with their relatives and friends via social media. In the context of Nepal, approximately 1.6 million Nepalis leave the country annually for various reasons.³ According to the full report of the National Population and Housing Census 2021, 2,190,592 individuals from 1,555,161

1 Dahal, R. & Acharya, U. (2025). An Anatomy of Information Manipulation in Nepal, in Acharya, U. (ed.). *Nepal's Misinformation Landscape*. Center for Media Research-Nepal. <https://doi.org/10.62657/cmr25aa>.

2 Ibid.

3 Onlinekhabar. (2024, January 9). *1.6 million Nepalis left the country in 2023*. Onlinekhabar English News. <https://english.onlinekhabar.com/nepalis-left-the-country-2023.html>.

households reside abroad.⁴ Nepalis living abroad are not only connected to their families and peers through social media but are also equally active in the formation of public opinion regarding Nepal's social and political and other developments. It has been argued that during the previous House of Representatives elections, the diaspora played a role ranging from 'convincing' their relatives in Nepal⁵ to swaying public sentiment to some extent. In any case, Nepalis residing abroad remain actively engaged in the country's social and political issues.

Currently, following the Gen-Z protests, there is intense discourse regarding good governance, political parties, and the nature of the country's next leadership. Various perspectives are emerging to analyze this movement, which succeeded in bringing about a change in government within a remarkably short period. The rise of this movement is primarily being interpreted through the lens of mounting socio-economic discontent within Nepali society and the complexities arising from geopolitical pressures. Indeed, for the past few years, citizen dissatisfaction with the prevailing system of governance and the working style of the core leadership has been frequently highlighted across both social media and traditional media platforms.

Amidst discussions surrounding the coalition government of the two largest parties in the House of Representatives and the rising social discontent as the periodic election reaches its midterm, we sought to gauge public opinion through a survey in the Gandaki Province. Following consultations with stakeholders regarding the key findings of that survey, Purak Asia conducted additional surveys between mid April and July 2025 in Madhesh Province, Lumbini Province, and the Kathmandu Valley to further understand citizen perceptions.

The survey seeks to explore public opinion regarding governance system, political parties, political leadership, and the formation of public discourse. The citizen perspectives captured by this survey will undoubtedly assist in gaining a multidimensional understanding of these topics, which are currently at the center of public debate. Furthermore, these insights will prove valuable in analyzing the context and impact of the Gen-Z movement.

Research Methodology

Using a random sampling method, four districts each were selected from Madhesh Province (Dhanusha, Saptari, Rautahat, and Parsa) and Lumbini Province (Dang, Nawalparasi, Bardiya, and Gulmi). In the case of the Kathmandu Valley, all three districts (Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur) were included. To ensure balanced representation, the study selected one rural municipality and one municipality with the highest populations from each district in Madhesh and Lumbini. Similarly, the most populous municipalities were selected from within the districts of the Kathmandu Valley.

In Madhesh Province, the survey covered Dhanusha (Janakpur Sub-Metropolitan City and Laxminiya Rural Municipality), Saptari (Rajbiraj Municipality and Tilathi Koiladi Rural Municipality), Rautahat (Chandrapur Municipality and Yamunamai Rural Municipality), and Parsa (Birgunj Metropolitan City and Sakhwa Prasauni Rural Municipality) districts. In

4 Central Bureau of Statistics. (2023). National population and housing census 2021 (National report).

National Planning Commission. <https://cbs.gov.np/national-population-and-housing-census-2021-national-report/>.

5 Bhattacharai, Phanindra (2024 B.S. Mansir 16). Bidesh Basne Nepalilai kina Yati Saro Nepalko Rajnitima Chaso. *Setopati* <https://www.setopati.com/global/uk/115008>.

Lumbini Province, the selected districts were Dang (Ghorahi Sub-Metropolitan City and Rapti Rural Municipality), Bardiya (Barabardiya Municipality and Badhaiyatal Rural Municipality), Gulmi (Resunga Municipality and Satyawati Rural Municipality), and Nawalparasi (Bardaghat Municipality and Pratappur Rural Municipality). Additionally, from the Kathmandu Valley, Kathmandu Metropolitan City of Kathmandu district, Lalitpur Metropolitan City of Lalitpur district, and Suryabinayak Municipality of Bhaktapur district were included in the survey.

In the survey, a total of 1,425 respondents were initially planned, with 475 respondents selected from each of the three regions: Madhesh Province, Lumbini Province, and the Kathmandu Valley. However, with the addition of one respondent from Pratappur Rural Municipality in Nawalparasi (Lumbini Province), the final survey was conducted among 1,426 respondents. This adjustment was made to ensure a precise statistical distribution (33.31 percent from Madhesh, 33.31 percent from the Kathmandu Valley, and 33.38 percent from Lumbini). The sample design has a margin of error of 4.5% and a 95% confidence level. A multi-stage sampling method was employed during the survey. After selecting the local levels (municipalities), the first stage involved selecting an equal number of wards from each municipality. In the second stage, wards were categorized based on migration patterns, and specific survey areas were identified using a simple random sampling method. In the third stage, a household listing of the survey area was conducted, and households were selected via systematic random sampling. Following this, surveyors selected households by following a clockwise direction. In rural municipalities, every third household was selected after the initial starting point, while in urban municipalities, every fifth household was selected. Finally, the Kish grid method was used to select one respondent aged 18 or older from each selected household for the interview. This rigorous methodology was adopted to ensure representative data at every stage.

The survey participants included 50.98 percent male and 49.02 percent female participants. The largest participant group belonged to the ages 46 to 60, accounting for 26.01 percent of the total sample. Other age groups were represented as follows: 22.23 percent were aged 36 to 45, 20.2 percent were aged 26 to 35, 16.34 percent were aged 18 to 25, and 15.22 percent were aged 61 and above.⁶

In terms of educational attainment, the survey participants included 10.73 percent illiterate, 5.61 percent literate (no formal schooling), and 10.8 percent who had completed up to Grade 5. Additionally, 18.72 percent had studied up to Grade 9, while 16.55 percent had completed SLC or SEE. Those who had completed Intermediate/Higher Secondary level (+2) accounted for 20.49 percent, followed by 11.9 percent who were graduates and 5.1 percent who held a post-graduate degree or higher. Participants with vocational training accounted for 0.1 percent.

Among the survey participants, 82.19 percent were married, while 14.87 percent were unmarried. Additionally, 0.49 percent were divorced or separated, and 2.45 percent were widowed.

In terms of ethnic and caste representation, the largest group among the survey participants consisted of Hill Caste groups at 27.6 percent, followed by Hill Janajati (indigenous groups) at 25 percent, and Tarai Caste groups at 18.3 percent. Additionally, Tarai Janajati accounted for 10 percent, Tharu 7.4 percent, Tarai Dalit 5.1 percent, Hill Dalit 3.9 percent, Muslim 2.5

⁶ As the legal voting age in Nepal is 18, individuals below this age were not included in the survey. Furthermore, varying age intervals were utilized in the grouping to better understand and analyze generational perspectives.

percent, and mountain (Himali) Janajati 0.2 percent of the total participants.⁷

In terms of religion, the vast majority of participants, 90.5 percent, were Hindu. Those following Buddhism constituted 4.7 percent, followed by Islam 2.5 percent, Christianity 1.5 percent, Kirat 0.3 percent, Prakrit (nature worship) at 0.1 percent, and atheists at 0.2 percent. Additionally, 0.2 percent of respondents chose not to disclose their religious affiliation.

Among the survey participants, 47.5 percent had been living in their current location since birth. Those who had resided there for more than 10 years comprised 42.2 percent, while 8.3 percent had been living there for more than 3 years but less than 10 years. Similarly, the proportion of those who had been residing in the same place for less than 3 years was 2 percent.

Among the survey participants, the largest group consisted of those involved in trade/business or self-employment, which represented 21.88 percent of the total. This was followed by farmers at 19.99 percent, while homemakers constituted 17.18 percent. Private sector employees comprised 7.85 percent, students made up 7.57 percent, and those unemployed stood at 5.4 percent. The remaining participants included retirees 5.12 percent, laborers 3.86 percent, and government employees 2.88 percent. Social workers accounted for 2.59 percent, teachers 2.52 percent, and drivers 1.61 percent. Finally, health workers made up 0.7 percent, contractors represented 0.49 percent, and others accounted for 0.36 percent.

Among the survey participants, the largest group consisted of households with a monthly income between NPR 30,000 to 50,000, which comprised 26.16 percent of the total. Furthermore, those with a monthly income exceeding NPR 50,000 represented 24.89 percent, while households earning between NPR 20,000 and 30,000 constituted 20.48 percent. Respondents with a monthly income of NPR 10,000 to 20,000 accounted for 16.79 percent, and those earning less than NPR 10,000 made up 7.36 percent. Additionally, 1.79 percent of participants chose not to disclose their family's monthly income, and 2.17 percent stated they did not know.

During the survey, questions were asked using a Likert scale with multiple-choice options such as "Strongly Agree," "Agree," "Neither Agree nor Disagree," "Disagree," and "Strongly Disagree." Although "Don't Know" and "Refused to Answer" were provided as options, their numbers were not significant; therefore, they have been combined and presented together in the analysis. Furthermore, during the analysis process, "Strongly Agree" and "Agree" have been merged and presented as "Agree" in several instances. Similarly, "Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree" have been combined and referred to as "Disagree."

⁷ The categorization of ethnic and caste groups is based on Pitamber Sharma's book, *Unravelling the Mosaic* (2008).

1. Opinion Formation: How Much Influence Do Different Actors Have?

1.1 Sources of information

During the survey, a vast majority (83.7%) of respondents stated that social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) is their primary medium for news and information. This was particularly high among respondents in Lumbini at 89.1 percent, Madhesh at 81.3 percent, and the Kathmandu Valley at 80.6 percent. Television ranks as the second most common source of news and information (23.1%). Specifically, 13.9 percent of respondents in Madhesh, 17.9 percent in Lumbini, and 37.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley mentioned television as their source for news and information.

While radio ranks as the third most popular source in the Madhesh and Lumbini provinces, in the Kathmandu Valley, this medium falls behind both online portals and newspapers. In Madhesh, 9.9 percent of respondents identified radio as a news and information source, compared to 16.4 percent in Lumbini. Those who use online portals for news and information accounted for 8.2 percent in Madhesh and 13 percent in Lumbini. Regarding newspapers, only 1.7 percent of respondents in Madhesh and 3.2 percent in Lumbini mentioned them as a source. Conversely, in the Kathmandu Valley, 16.8 percent mentioned online portals, 11.8 percent cited newspapers, and 8.4 percent identified radio as their source of news and

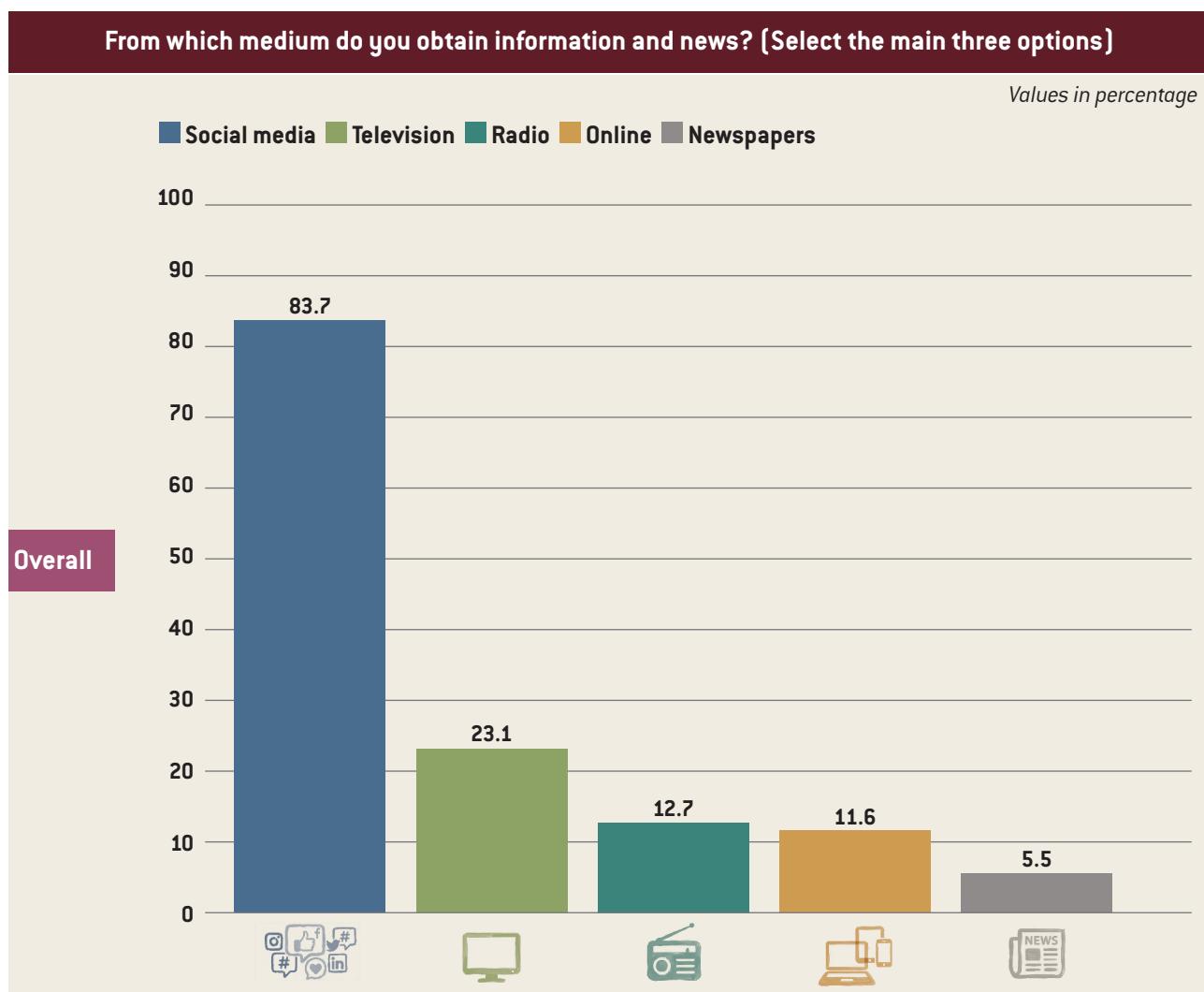


Fig. 1.1 (a): Respondents' perceptions of media for obtaining information/news (multiple response option)

information. Consequently, radio appears to be the least utilized source of information within the Kathmandu Valley.

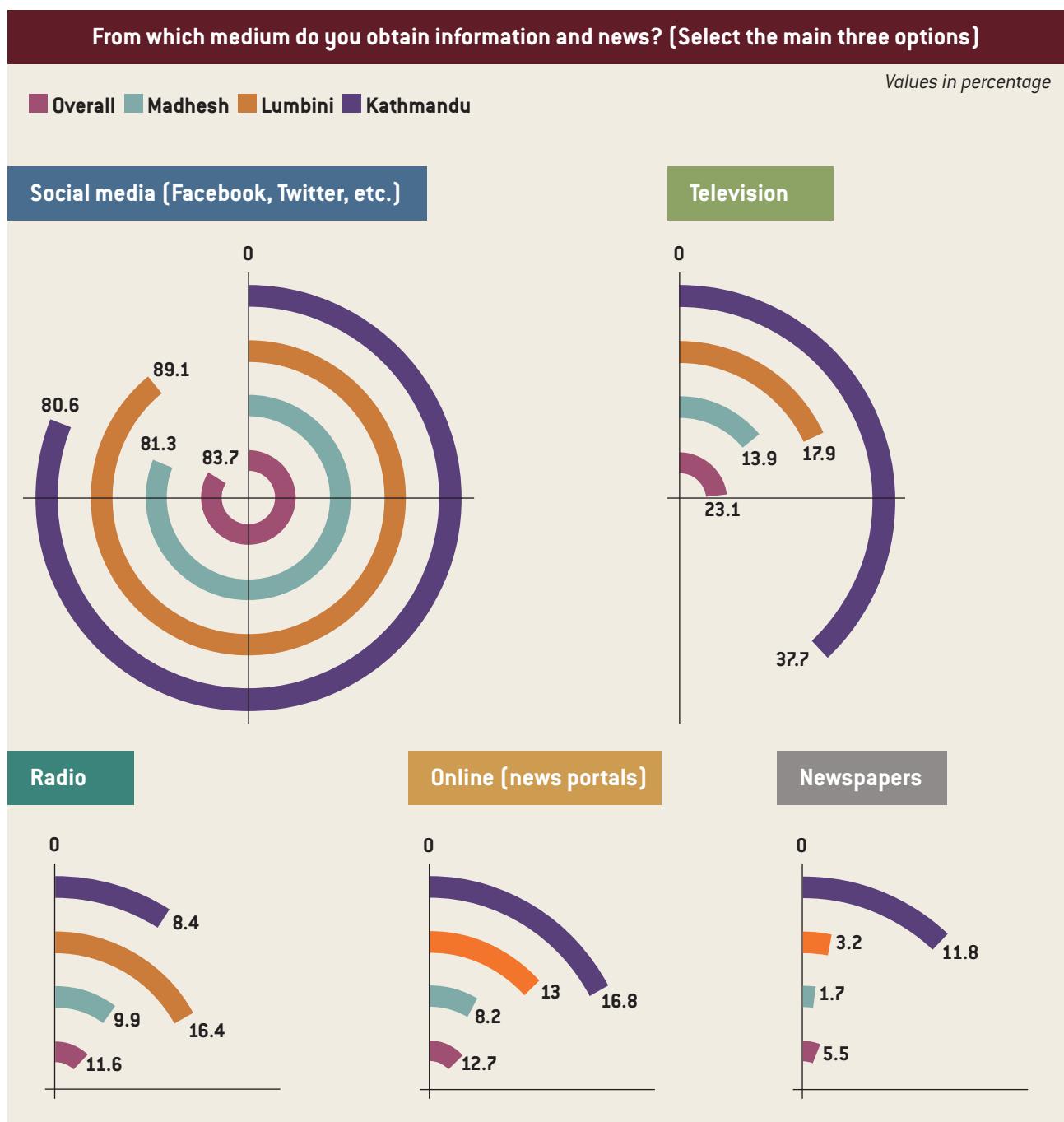


Fig. 1.1 (b): Respondents' perceptions of media for obtaining information/news (multiple response option)

1.2 Impact on opinion formation

On the question of opinion formation, 50.1 percent agree that the role of mainstream media (newspapers, radio, TV, online) is weak, while 27.5 percent disagree. In this regard, 56.7 percent of respondents in Madhesh, 48.3 percent in Lumbini, and 45.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley agree. However, the number of those who disagree with this statement in the Kathmandu Valley (41.5%) is 26.4 percent higher than in Madhesh (15.1%) and 15.6 percent higher than in Lumbini (25.9%); therefore, compared to Madhesh and Lumbini provinces, the role of mainstream media appears stronger in the Kathmandu Valley.

Regarding the statement that the role of social media (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, TikTok, etc.) is important in opinion formation, 73.5 percent agree and 8.7 percent disagree. In response to this statement, 68.2 percent in Madhesh, 75.6 percent in Lumbini, and 76.9 percent in Kathmandu agree. In this regard, it is the respondents' assessment that the role of social media in the matter of opinion formation is more important in the Kathmandu Valley compared to Madhesh and Lumbini Provinces.

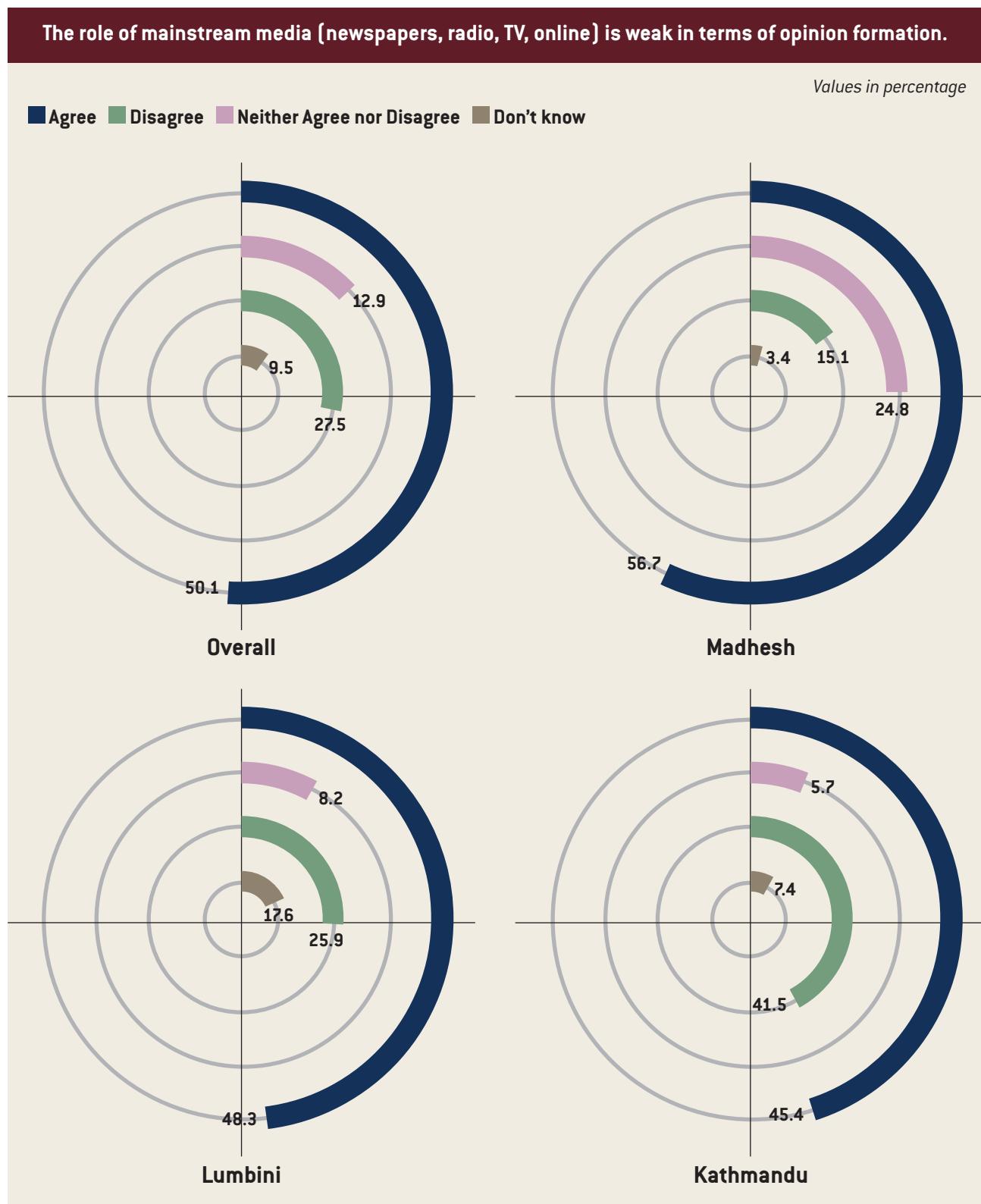


Fig. 1.2 (a): Respondents' perception of the role of mainstream media, social media, and Nepalis living abroad in opinion formation

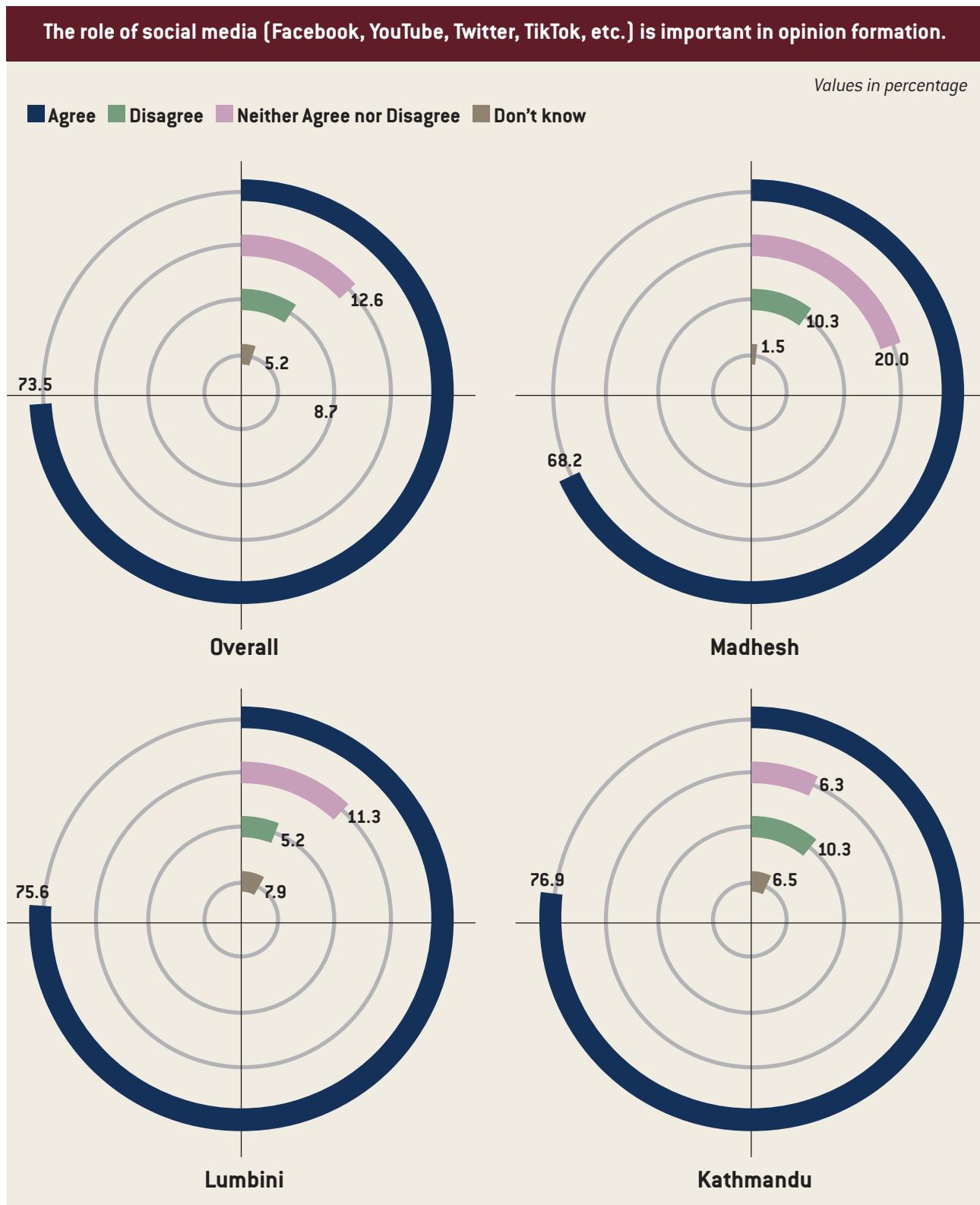


Fig. 1.2 (b): Respondents' perception of the role of mainstream media, social media, and Nepalis living abroad in opinion formation

Regarding the statement that the opinions of Nepalis living outside the country play an important role in influencing the views of the general public, 63.7 percent agree, while 15.6 percent disagree. In this regard, compared to Madhesh (54.6%), there are more respondents in Lumbini (68%) who agree with this statement, and those in the Kathmandu Valley (68.6%) are slightly higher still.

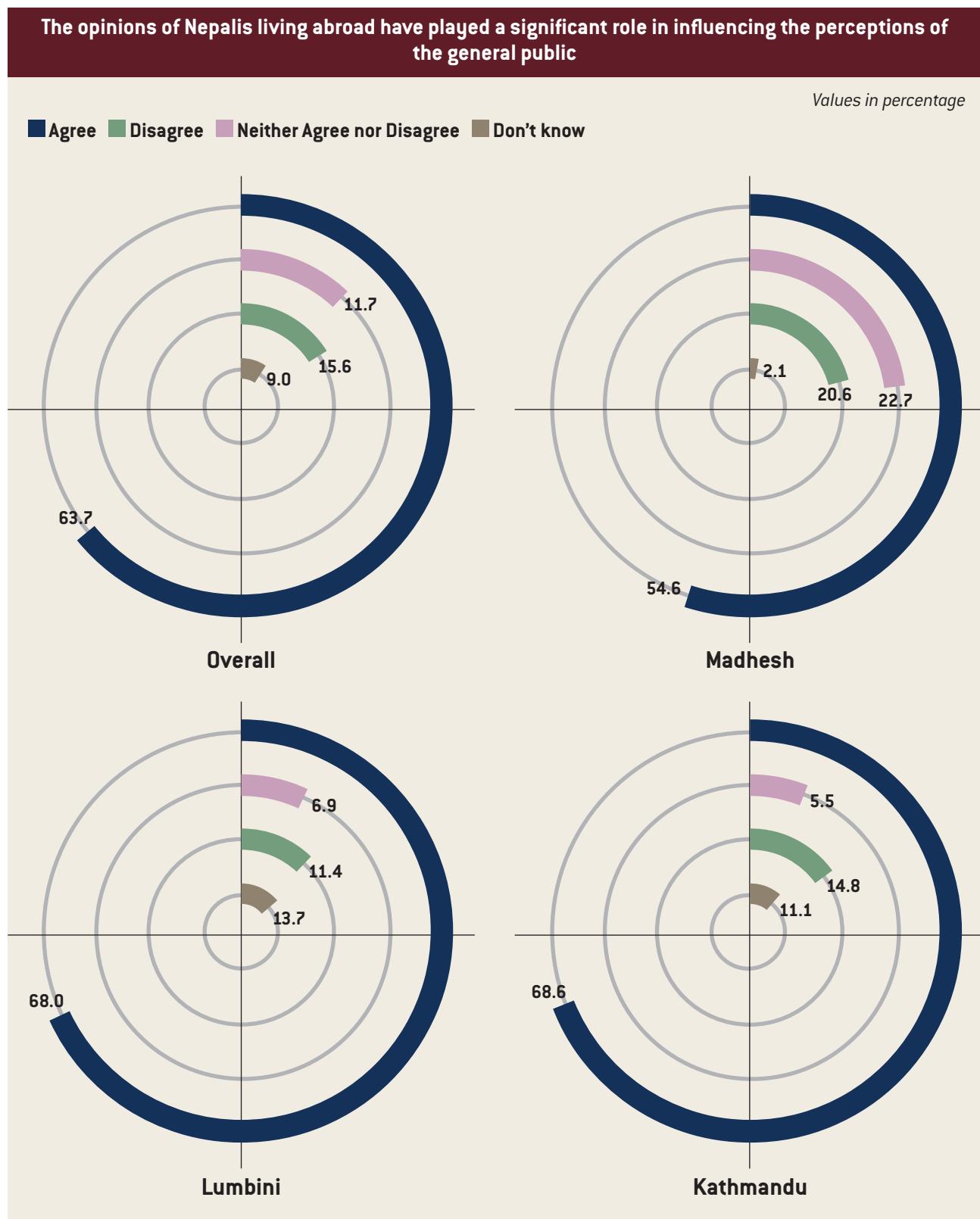


Fig. 1.2 (c): Respondents' perception of the role of mainstream media, social media, and Nepalis living abroad in opinion formation

Regarding the statement that a specific leader can spread propaganda (misinformation/disinformation) because of social media, 80.1 percent agree and 6.3 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Madhesh (67.6%), there are more respondents in Lumbini (85.1%), and those in the Kathmandu Valley (87.4%) are even higher.

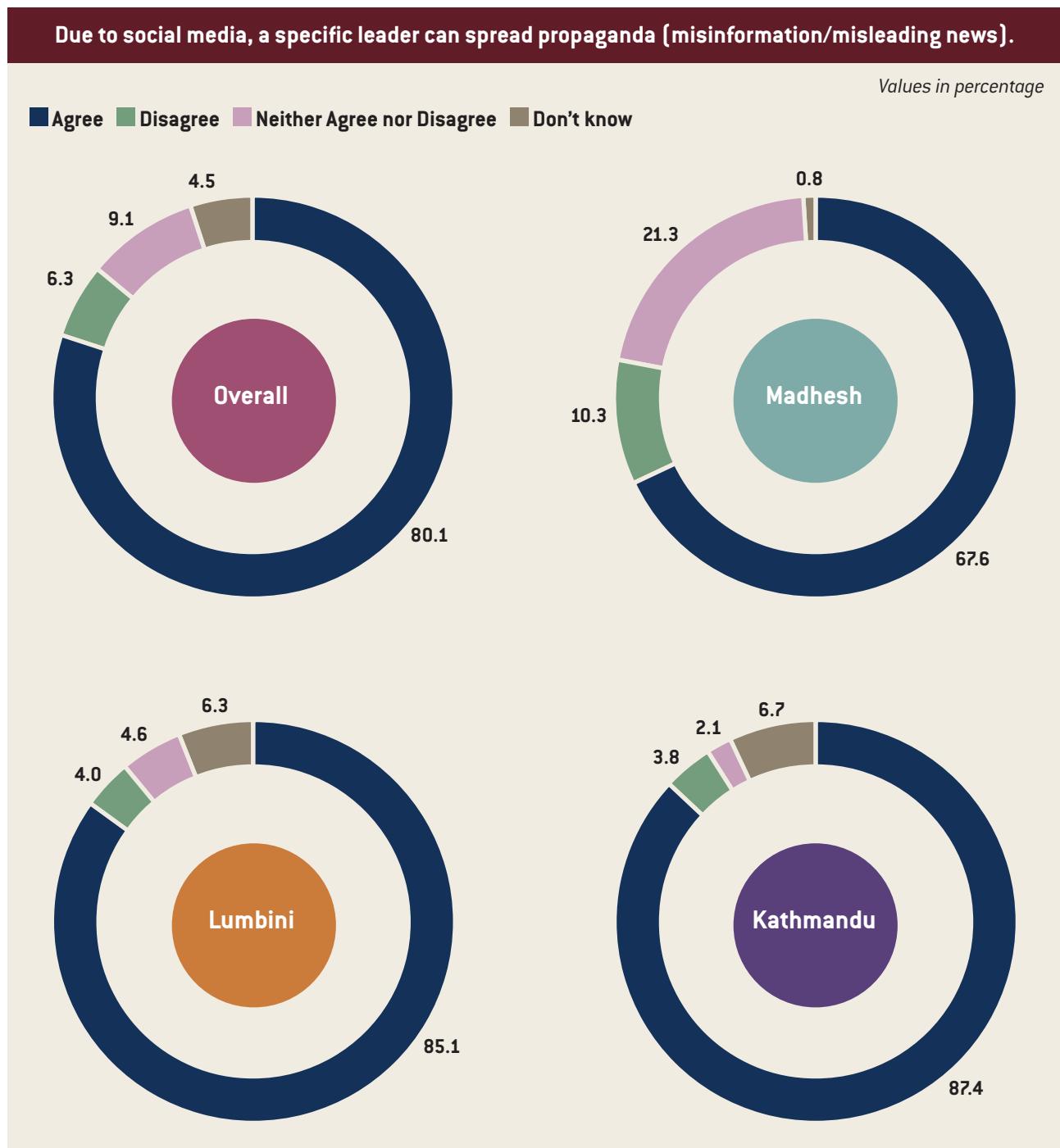


Fig. 1.2 (d): Respondents' perceptions of the role of specific leaders and party organizations in opinion formation

Regarding the statement that propaganda systematically spread by party organizations does not affect the general public, 14.3 percent agree, while the number of those who disagree is 72 percent. Among those agreeing with this statement, 17.1 percent are from Madhesh, 12.2 percent from Lumbini, and 13.7 percent from the Kathmandu Valley. Among those who disagree, compared to Madhesh (63%), there are more in Lumbini (74.8%), and those in the Kathmandu Valley (78.3%) are even higher.

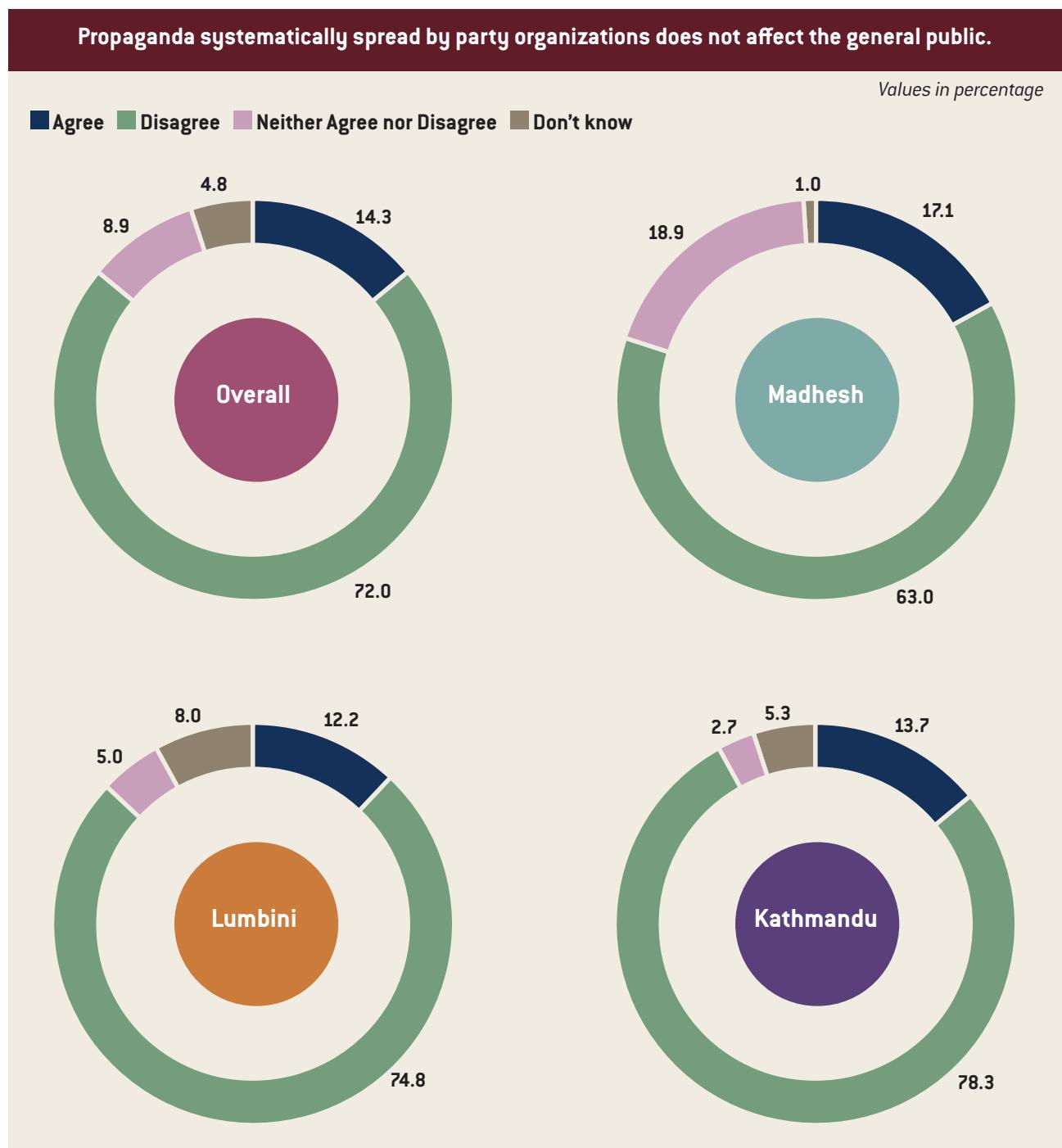


Fig. 1.2 (e): Respondents' perceptions of the role of specific leaders and party organizations in opinion formation

2. Public Opinion Toward Political Parties

2.1 Party affiliation and loyalty

Those who have an affiliation with a political party stand at 21.4 percent, while 77.5 percent stated they do not have any affiliation. Meanwhile, 1.1 percent did not wish to speak on this matter. Among the survey participants, only 24.8 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, 22.9 percent in Lumbini, and 16.4 percent in Madhesh stated they have an affiliation with a political party. In contrast, 82.3 percent of respondents in Madhesh, 76.1 percent in Lumbini, and 74.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they do not have an affiliation with any political party. While 1.3 percent of respondents in Madhesh gave the answer that they do not wish to say, the number of those giving such an answer in Lumbini Province and the Kathmandu Valley was equal (1.1%). In this manner, in the Kathmandu Valley as well as in both Madhesh and Lumbini provinces, much less than one-third of respondents stated they have an affiliation with a political party. It appears that the tendency to identify as independent is increasing compared to the trend of showing closeness to political parties. There are many more who remain independent than those who are affiliated with a party.

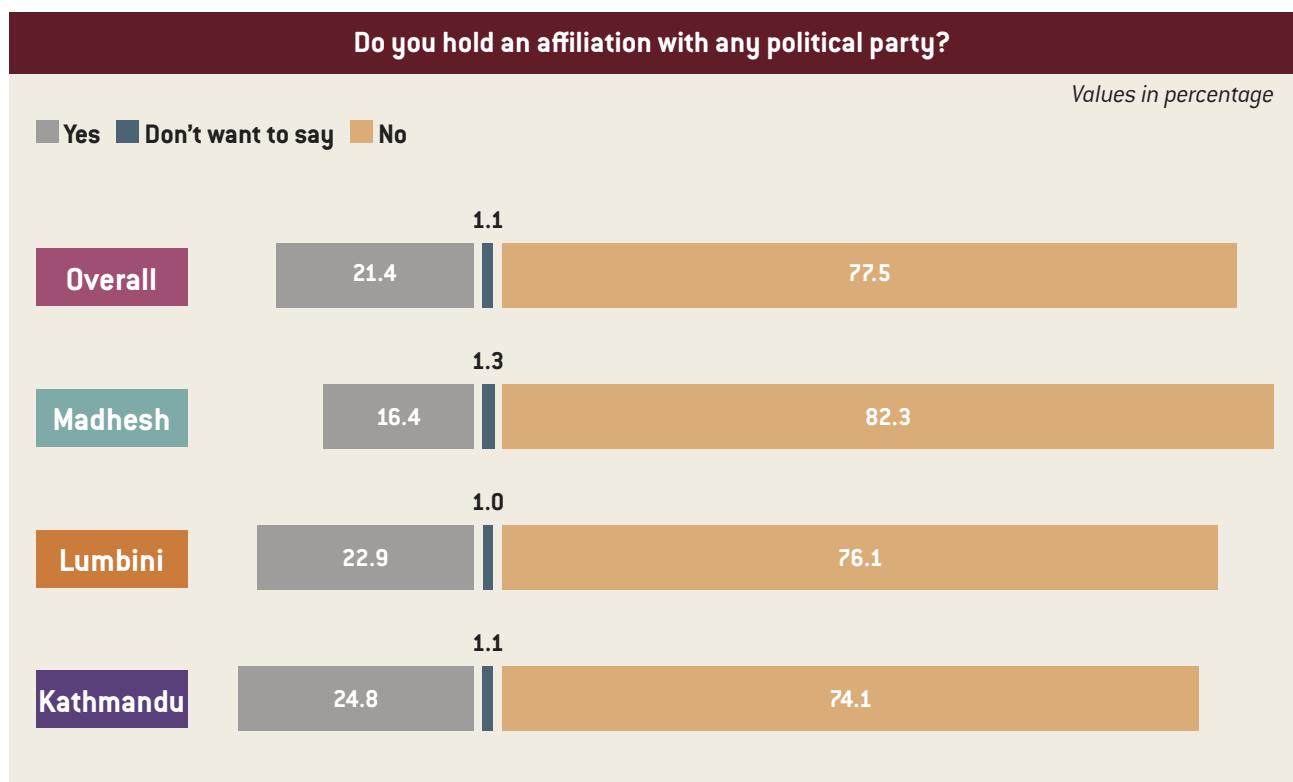


Fig. 2.1: Respondents' perceptions regarding party affiliation

2.2 Ideological clarity in parties

Regarding the statement that old and established political parties are clear in their ideologies and effective in their organizational management, 18.1 percent agree, while 60.6 percent disagree. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Madhesh (16.6%), there are more in Lumbini (18.1 percent), and those in the Kathmandu Valley (19.6 percent) are even higher. Among those who disagree with this statement, 63.8 percent are from Madhesh, 50.8 percent from Lumbini, and 67.1 percent from the Kathmandu Valley. Because 17.9 percent in Madhesh are neither in favor of agreement nor disagreement, and 26.5 percent in Lumbini gave the answer “don’t know/don’t want to say,” the numbers for both those who agree and disagree in this statement ended up being higher in the Kathmandu Valley compared to Madhesh and Lumbini provinces.

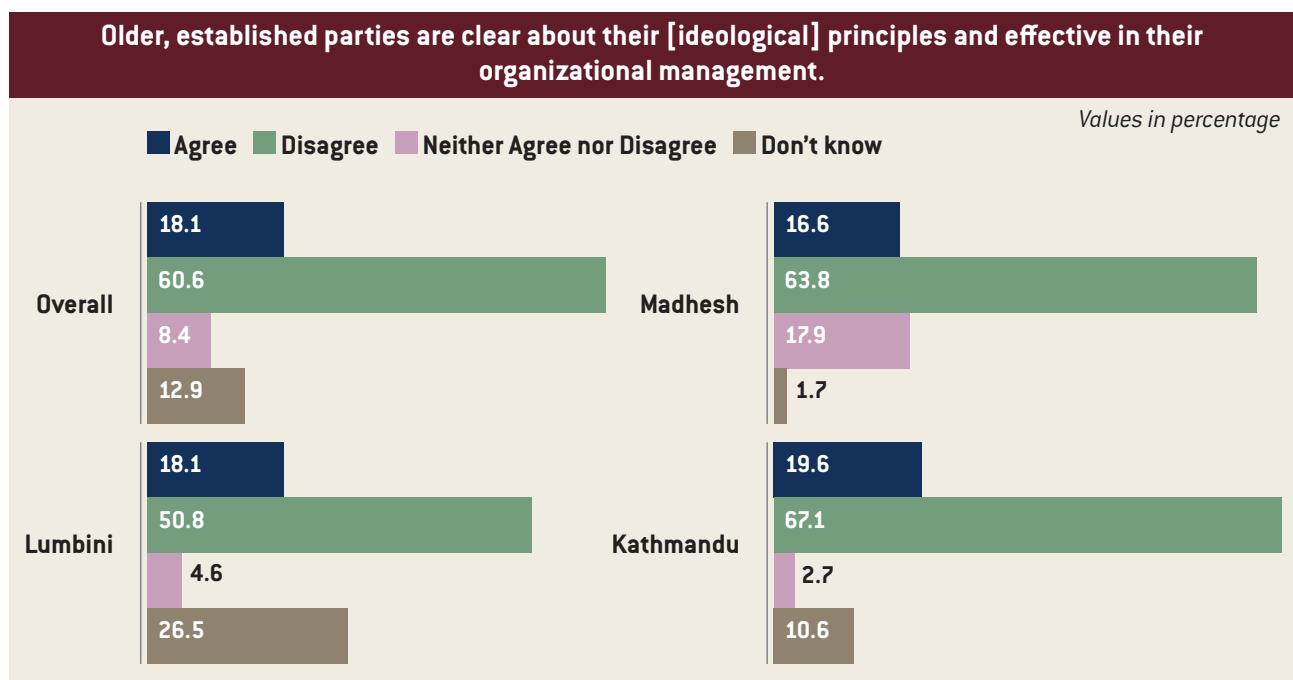


Fig. 2.2 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the ideological clarity of political parties

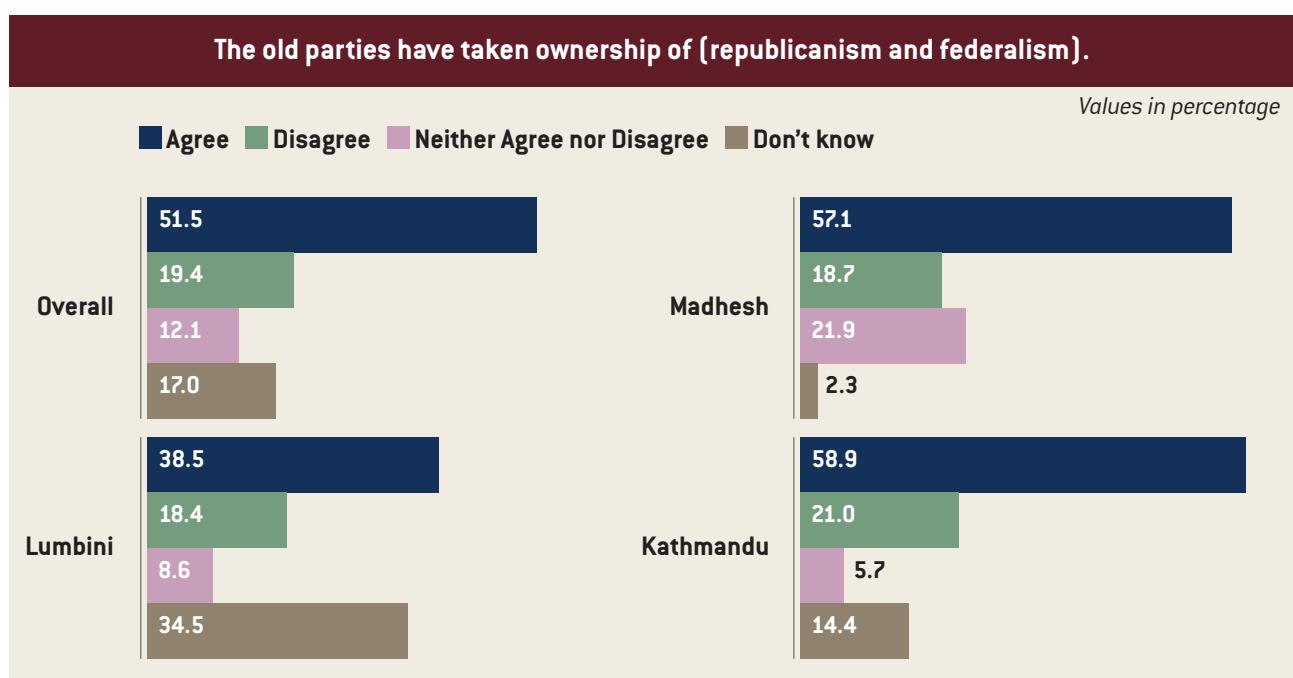


Fig. 2.2 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding the ideological clarity of political parties

Regarding the statement that old parties have taken ownership of republicanism and federalism, 51.5 percent agree and 19.4 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini (38.5%), there are more in Madhesh (57.1%), while those in the Kathmandu Valley (58.9%) are even higher. Regarding the statement that new parties have ideological clarity, 34.9 percent agree and 38.7 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, 26.1 percent are from Lumbini Province and 35.6 percent are from the Kathmandu Valley. In this regard, 43.1 percent of respondents in Madhesh Province agree.

Regarding the statement that new parties are ideologically clear, 34.9 percent agree and 38.7 percent disagree. The number of those who are neither in agreement nor disagreement stood at 10.2 percent, while 16.2 percent gave the answer “don’t know/don’t want to say.” Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (26.1%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (35.6%), while those in the Madhesh Province (43.1%) are even higher than in the Kathmandu Valley. Similarly, 40 percent in Madhesh Province, 34.2 percent in Lumbini, and 41.6 percent in the Kathmandu Valley disagree with this statement.

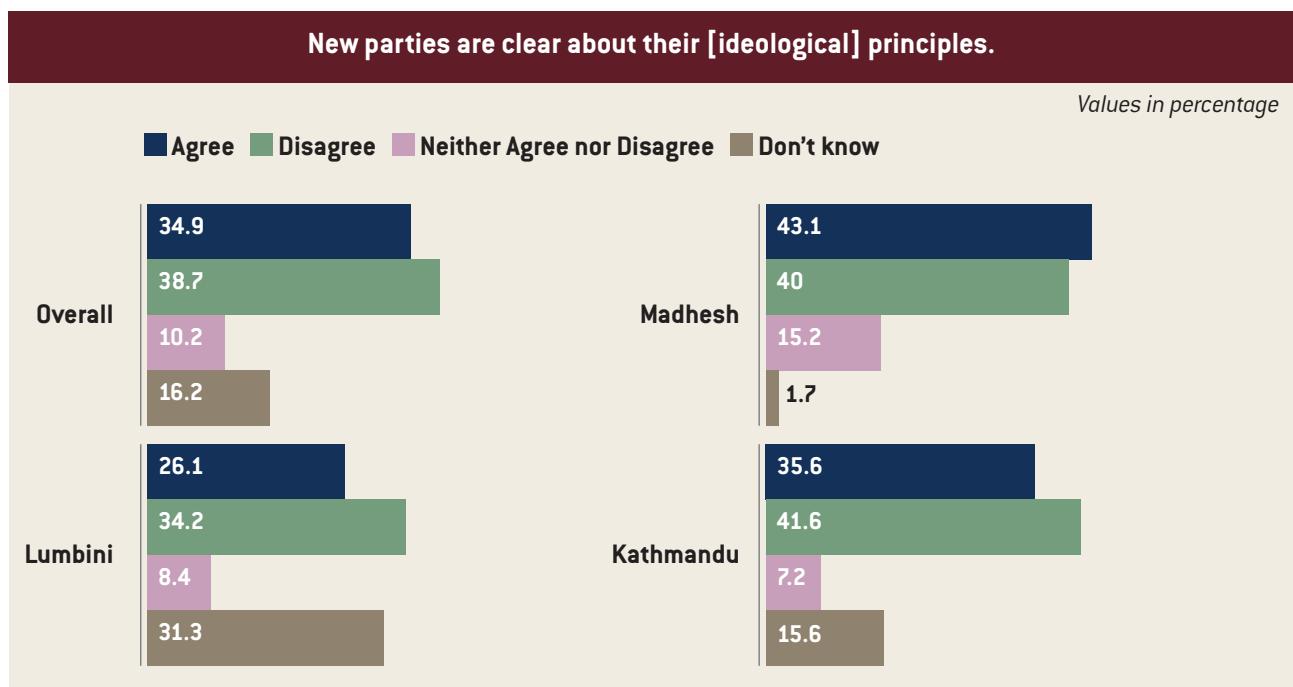


Fig. 2.2 (c): Respondents' perceptions regarding the ideological clarity of political parties

2.3 Transformation for positive change

Regarding the statement that it is necessary to change the working style of old political parties, 92 percent agree, while only 1.7 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini (88.8%), there are more in Madhesh (91.8%), while those in the Kathmandu Valley (95.4%) are even higher.

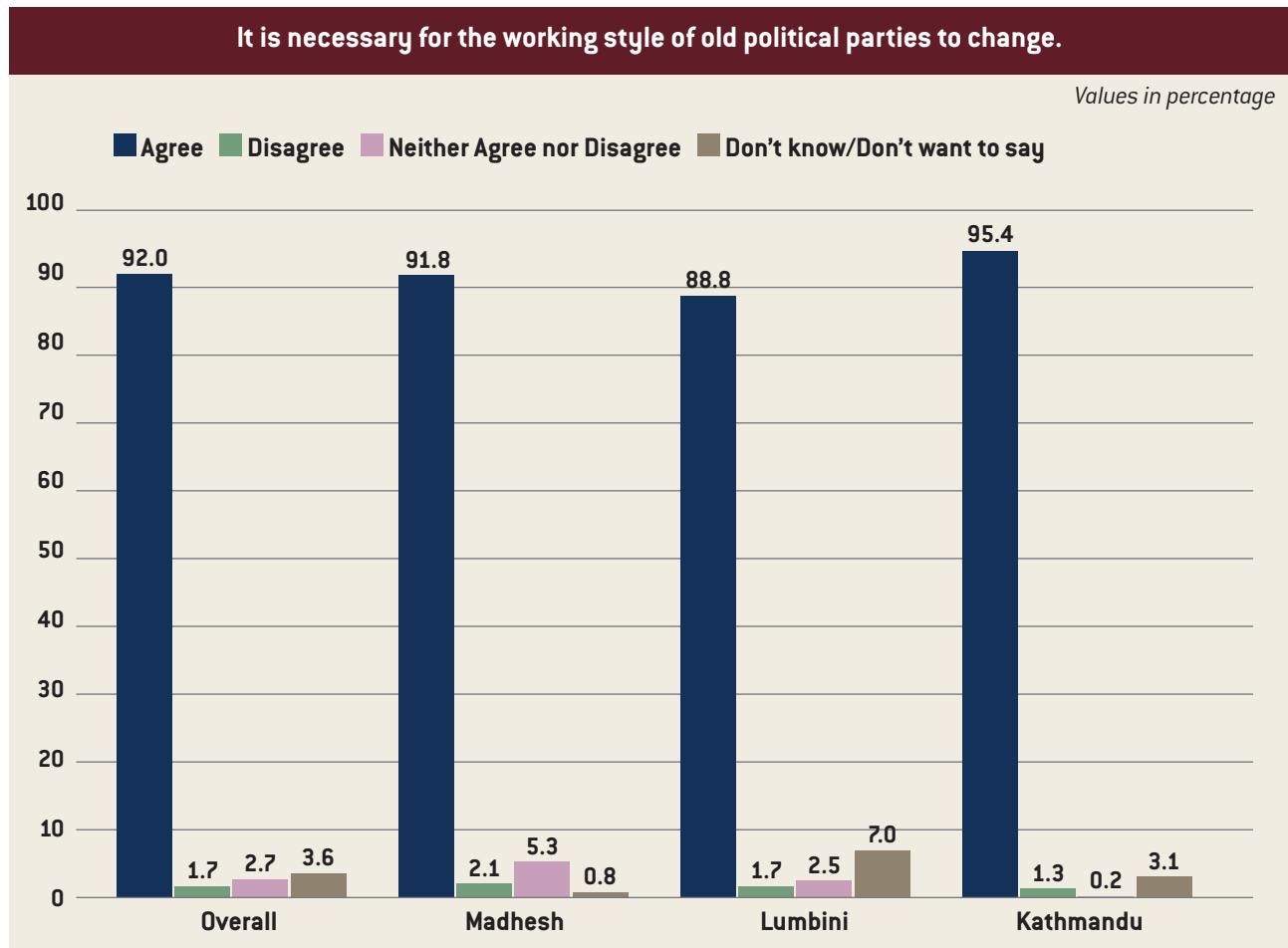


Fig. 2.3 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the actions political parties should take for positive change

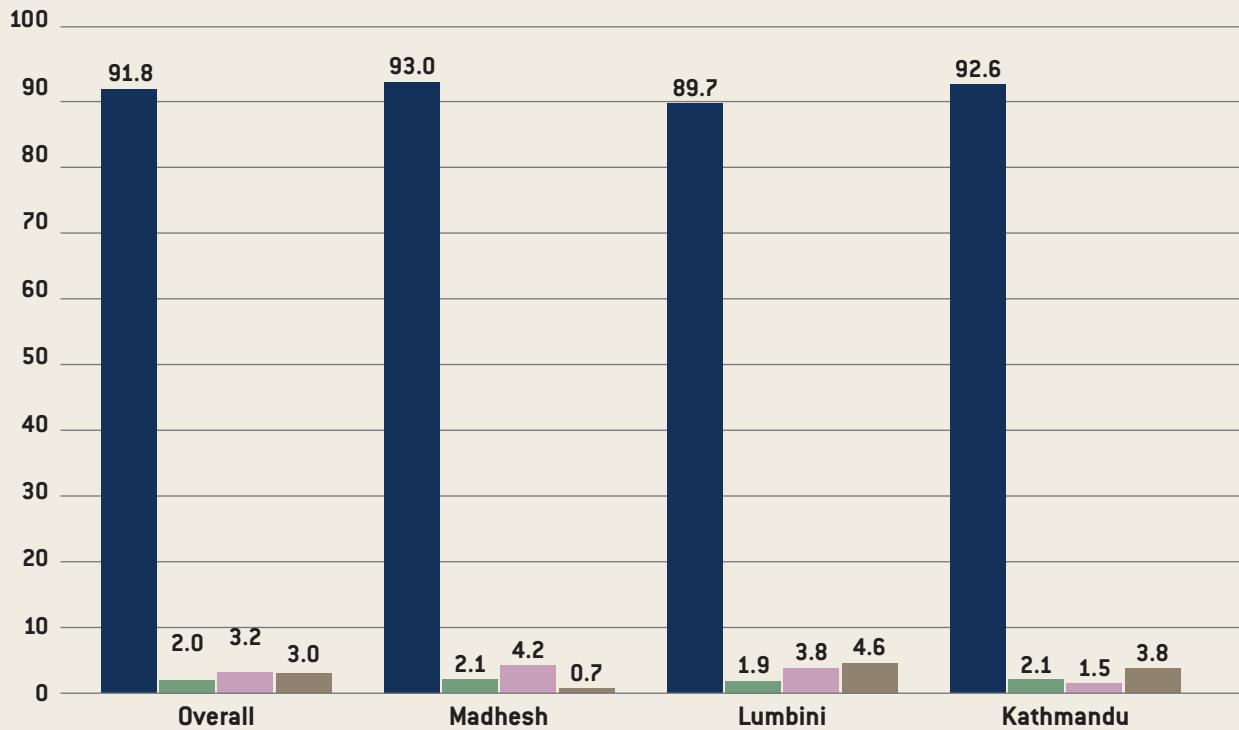
Regarding the statement that a generational handover is necessary in old political parties to bring in new leadership, 91.8 percent agree and 2 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (89.8%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (92.6%), while those in Madhesh Province (93%) are even higher, albeit by a small margin.

Regarding the statement that it is necessary for the newly emerged political parties to deliver results, 89.7 percent agree and 2.8 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (86.5%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (90.1%), while those in Madhesh Province (92.4%) are even higher.

It is necessary for old political parties to undergo a generational shift and bring in new leadership.

Values in percentage

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ Don't know/Don't want to say



The newly emerged political parties must deliver results.

Values in percentage

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ Don't know/Don't want to say

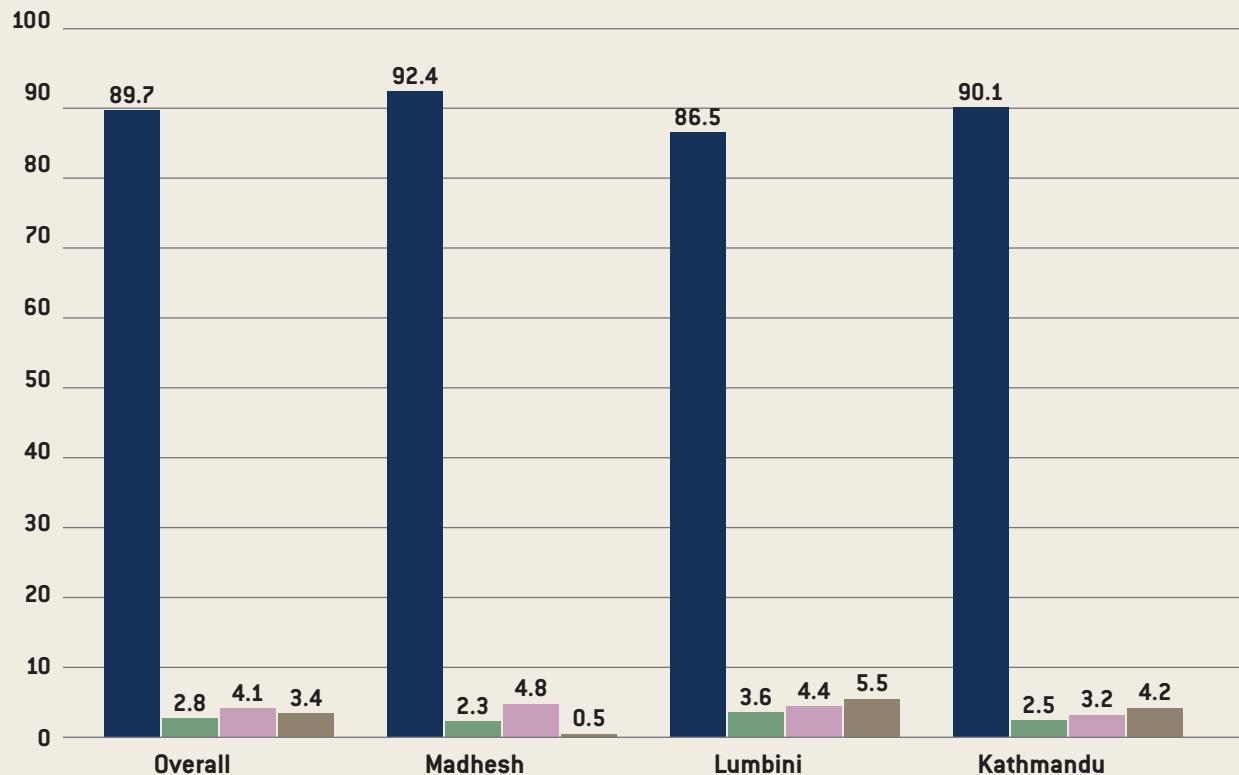


Fig. 2.3 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding the actions political parties should take for positive change

Regarding the statement that it is necessary for independent individuals to come into leadership, 89.3 percent agree and 3.7 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to the Kathmandu Valley (86.6%), there are more in Lumbini Province (87.4%), while those in Madhesh Province (93.9%) are even higher.

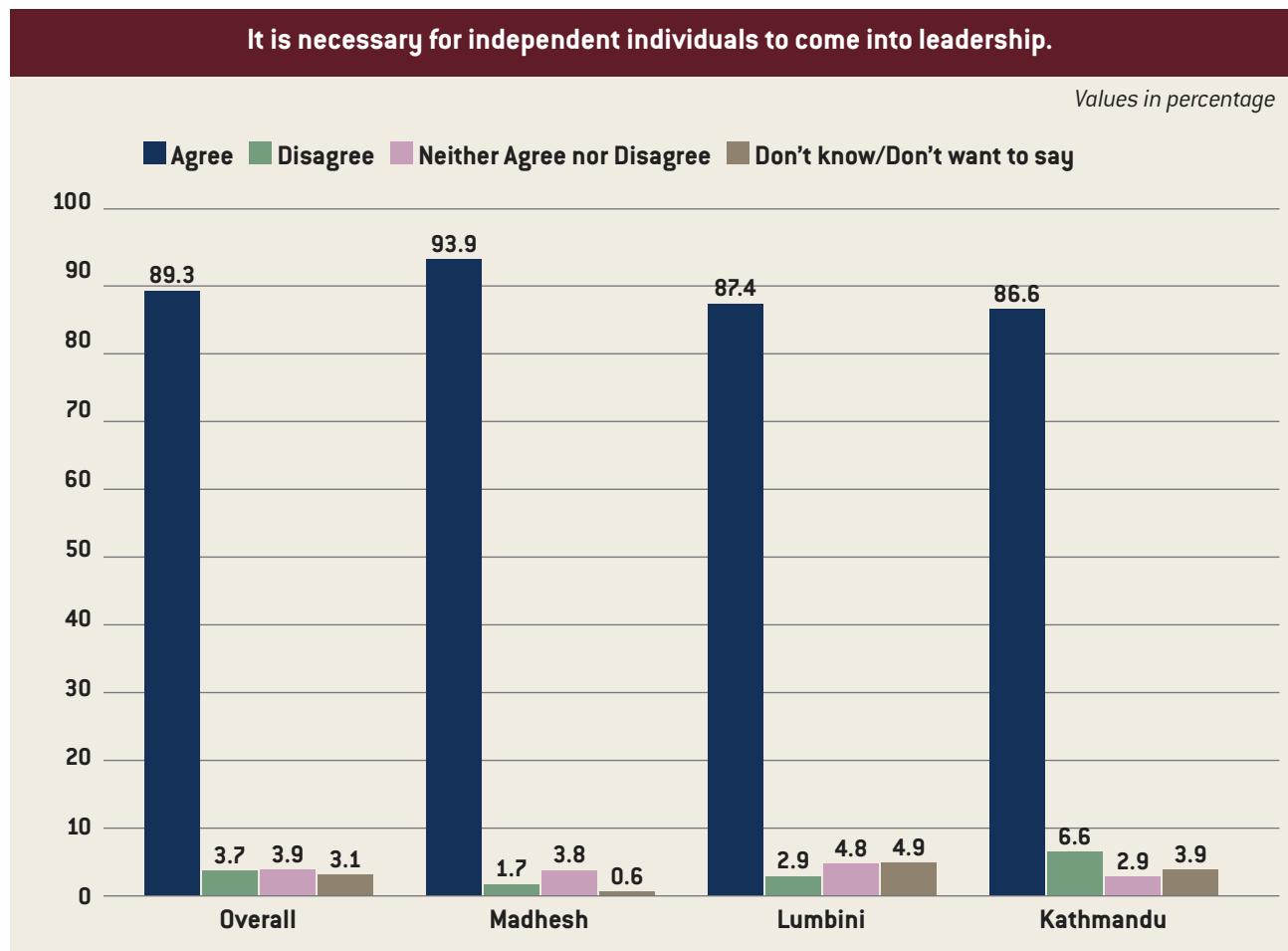


Fig. 2.3 (c): Respondents' perceptions regarding the actions political parties should take for positive change

2.4 Social media sentiment regarding political parties

Regarding the statement that old parties are criticized more on social media, 80 percent agree and 4.5 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Madhesh Province (75.6%), there are more in Lumbini Province (79.4%), while those in the Kathmandu Valley (85%) are even higher.

Regarding the statement that new parties appear more popular on social media, 71 percent agree and 11.9 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (68.3%), there are more in Madhesh Province (70.3%), while the respondents in the Kathmandu Valley (74.5%) are even higher.

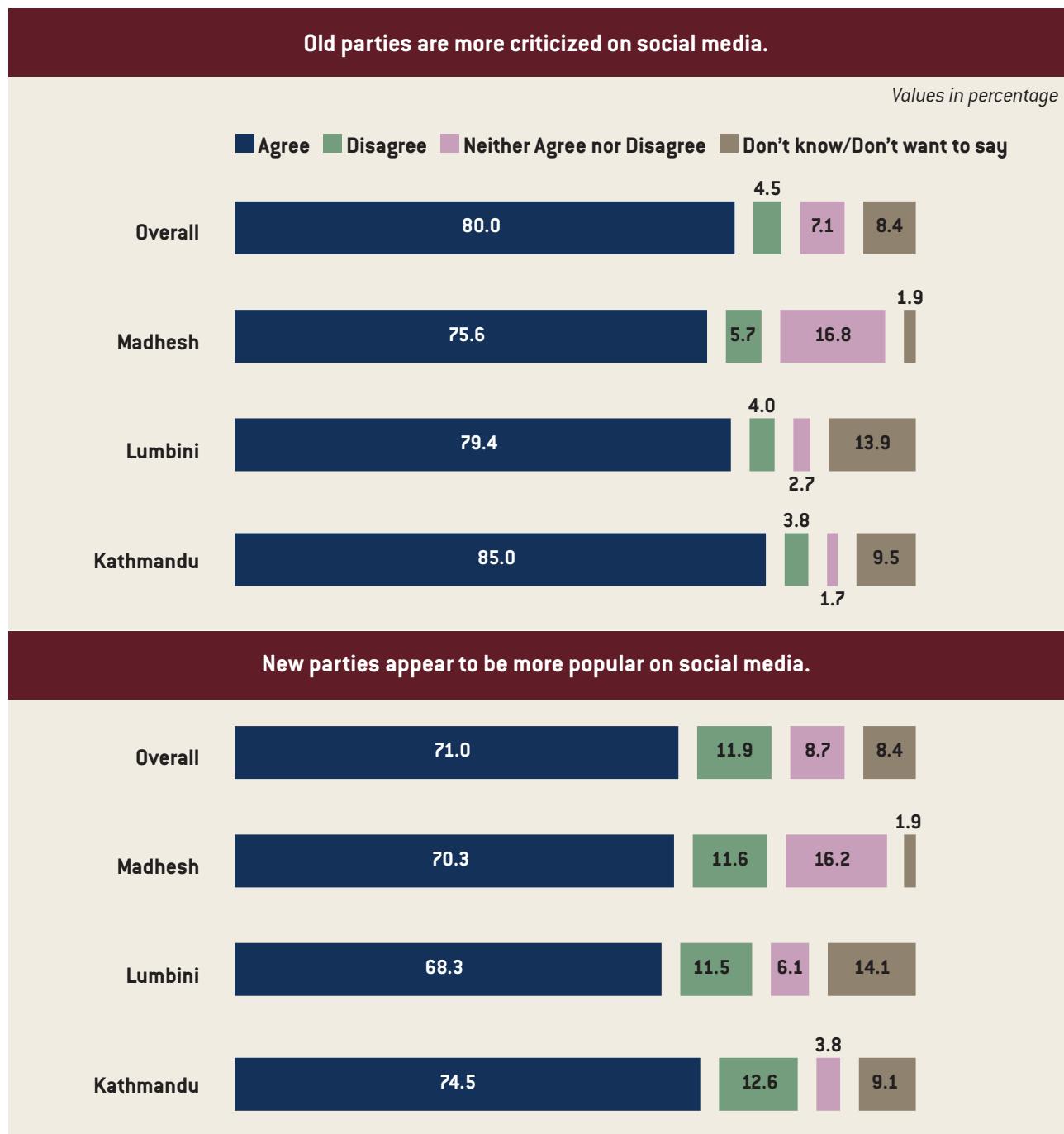


Fig. 2.4: Respondents' perceptions regarding the sentiment toward political parties on social media

2.5 Political parties and performance

Regarding the statement that there is no significant difference seen between new and old parties when they are in government, 56.9 percent agree and 24.8 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (48.3%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (54.7%), while those in Madhesh Province (67.6%) are even higher.

Regarding the statement expressing the confidence that new parties can do the work that old parties could not, 55.3 percent agree and 28.1 percent disagree. Among those who are confident, compared to Lumbini Province (51.5%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (53.9%), while those in Madhesh Province (60.6%) are even higher.

There is no significant difference seen between new and old parties while in office.

Values in percentage

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ Don't know/Don't want to say

Overall	56.9	24.8	10.9	7.4
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Madhesh	67.6	17.4	14.1	0.9
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Lumbini	48.3	26.7	12.4	12.6
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Kathmandu	54.7	30.1	6.1	9.1
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I am confident that new parties can accomplish the work that old parties failed to do.

Overall	55.3	28.1	11.9	4.7
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Madhesh	60.6	23.7	14.9	0.8
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Lumbini	51.5	29.4	12.0	7.1
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Kathmandu	53.9	31.0	8.8	6.3
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Fig. 2.5 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the performance of political parties

Regarding the statement that one can be confident that change will occur if some new individual comes into leadership rather than the new or old parties, 81.8 percent agree and 8.4 percent disagree. Among those agreeing with this statement, compared to the Kathmandu Valley (79.4%), there are more in Madhesh Province (82.9%), while those in Lumbini Province (83.2%) are even higher.

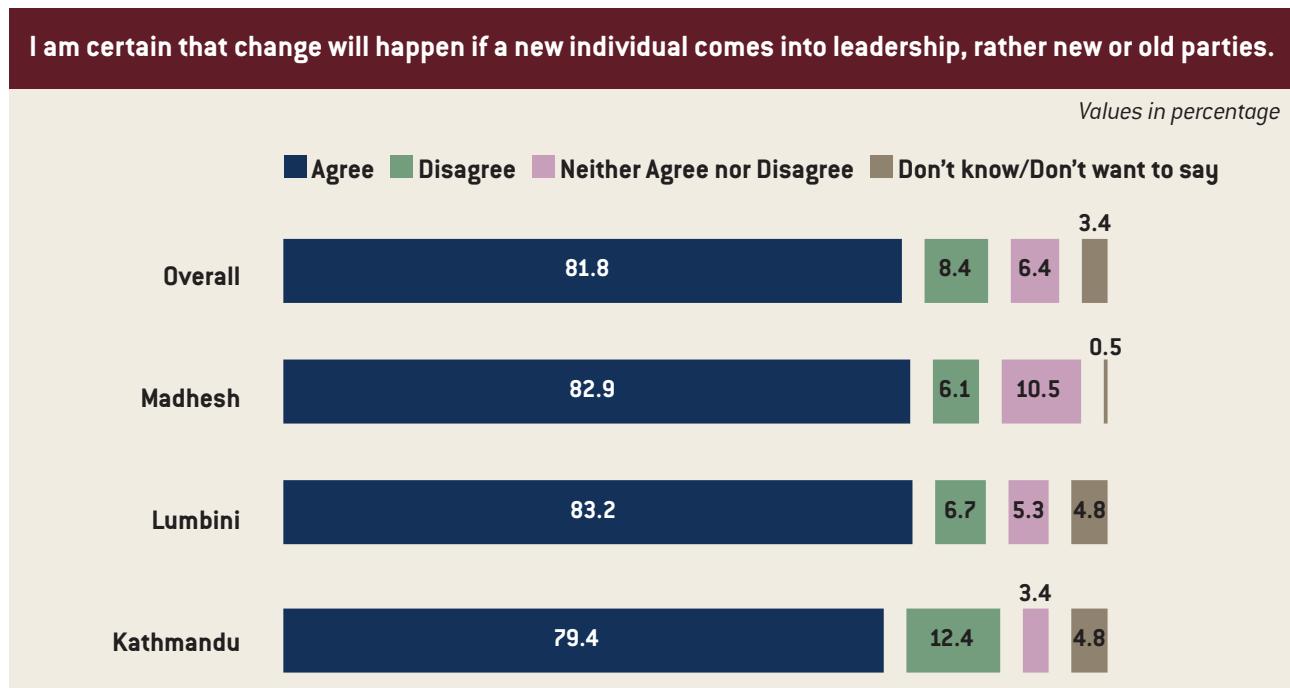


Fig. 2.5 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the performance of political parties

2.6 Choice of party in the next elections

Regarding the statement that I will vote for a different party than the one I previously voted for in the next election, 59.4 percent agree, while 12.4 percent of respondents disagree. The percentage of those who neither agree nor disagree is 3.6, while 16.1 percent responded that they do not wish to say or do not know.

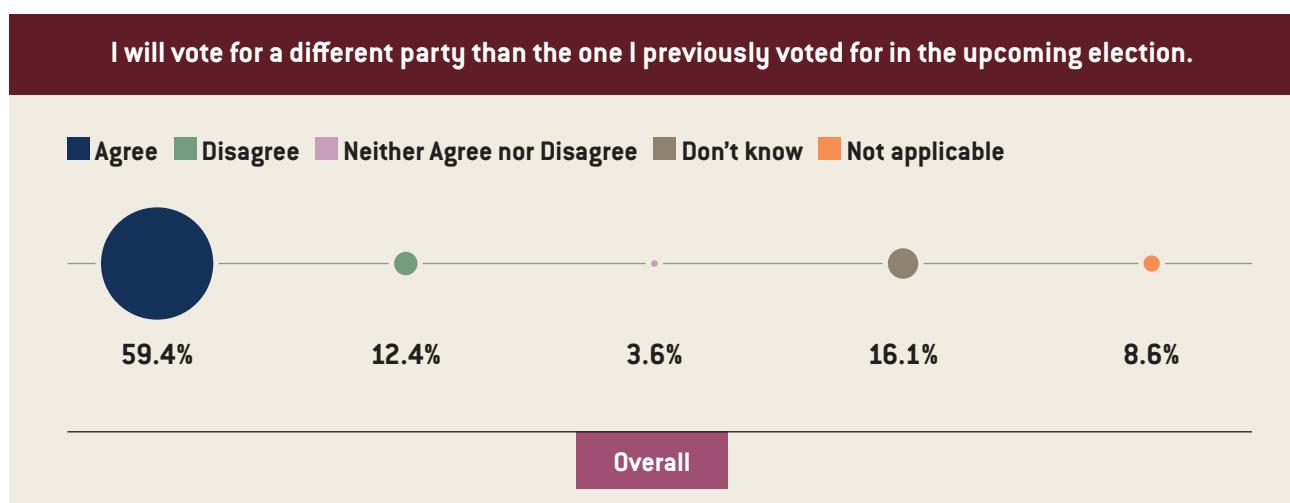


Fig. 2.6 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding voting for a different party than the one they previously voted for in the upcoming election

Regarding this statement, those who agree in Lumbini Province (50.8%) and the Kathmandu Valley (50.9%) are almost equal, while those in Madhesh (76.4%) are about 26 percent higher than that. Among those who disagree with this, there are 9.7 percent in Madhesh, 13.5 percent in Lumbini, and 14.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who said they neither agree nor disagree are 2.5 percent in Lumbini, 4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, and 4.2 percent in Madhesh. Similarly, 7.2 percent in Madhesh, 16.4 percent in Lumbini, and 24.6 percent in the Kathmandu Valley gave the response that they do not wish to say or do not know. In the case of 2.5 percent in Madhesh, 6.3 percent in Kathmandu, and 16.8 percent in Lumbini, this statement was found to be not applicable.

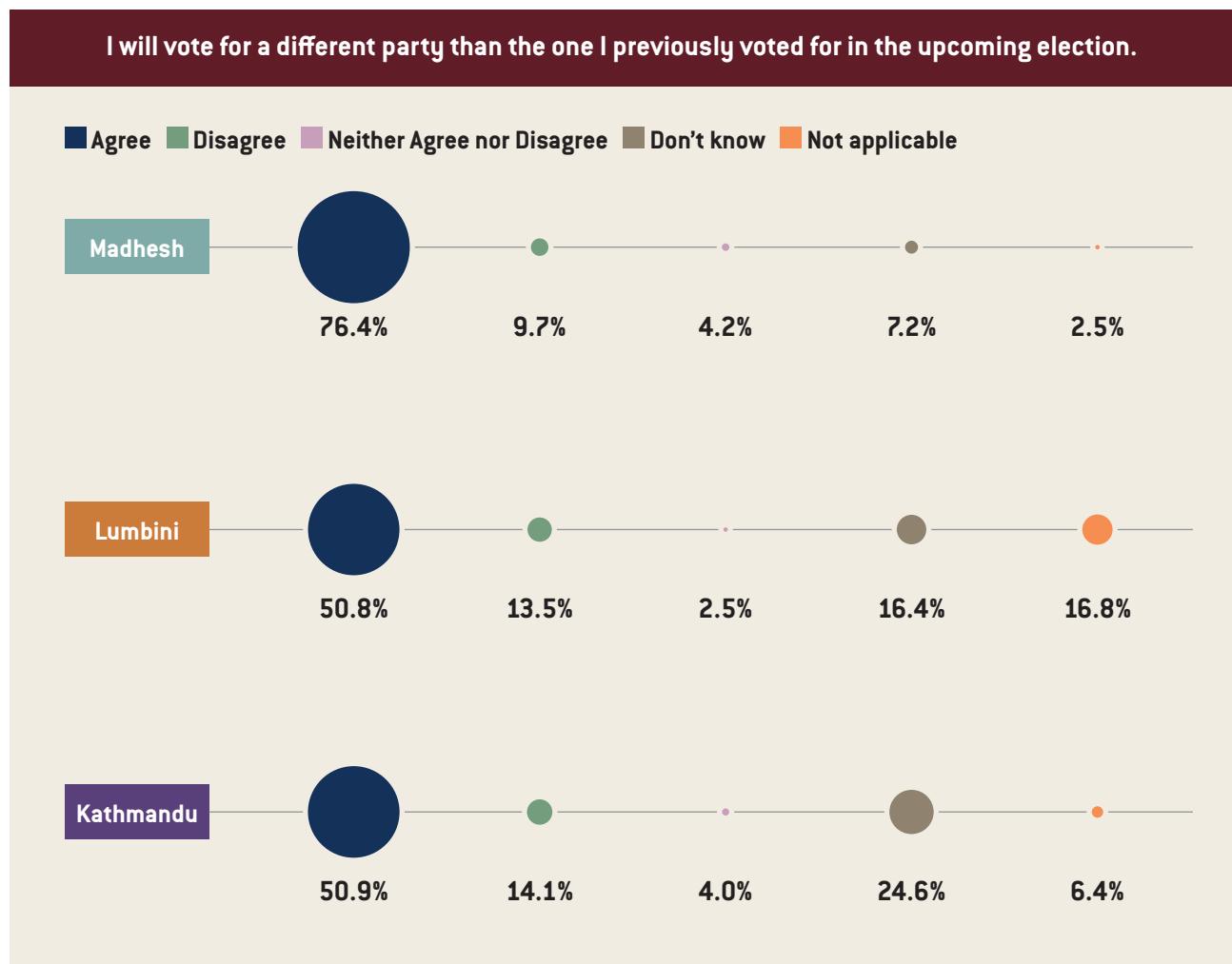


Fig. 2.6 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding voting for a different party than the one they previously voted for in the upcoming election

In response to the question regarding who you will give first priority to when voting in the next federal elections, the highest number of respondents (35.4%) said they would vote for an independent candidate. Following that, 16.1 percent said a new political party, 11.9 percent said an old political party, and 1.3 percent said a regional political party. While 26.9 percent replied that they have not yet decided, 7.3 percent replied that they do not wish to say. Additionally, 1.1 percent gave the response that they will not vote at all.

Similarly, 41.5 percent in Madhesh, 34.9 percent in Lumbini, and 29.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they would vote for an independent candidate. Regarding those who say they would vote for new political parties, there are 18.1 percent in Madhesh, 12.4 percent in Lumbini, and 17.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Additionally, 9.9 percent in Madhesh, 13.4 percent in Lumbini, and 12 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they would vote for old political parties. Those who said they would vote for a regional political party include 0.8 percent in Madhesh, 2.3 percent in Lumbini, and 0.6 percent in Kathmandu.

While 24.6 percent in Madhesh, 32.9 percent in Lumbini, and 23.3 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they have not yet decided, 3.2 percent in Madhesh, 3.3 percent in Lumbini, and 15.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley gave the response that they do not wish to say. Additionally, 1.9 percent in Madhesh, 0.6 percent in Lumbini, and 0.8 percent in Kathmandu replied that they will not vote at all.

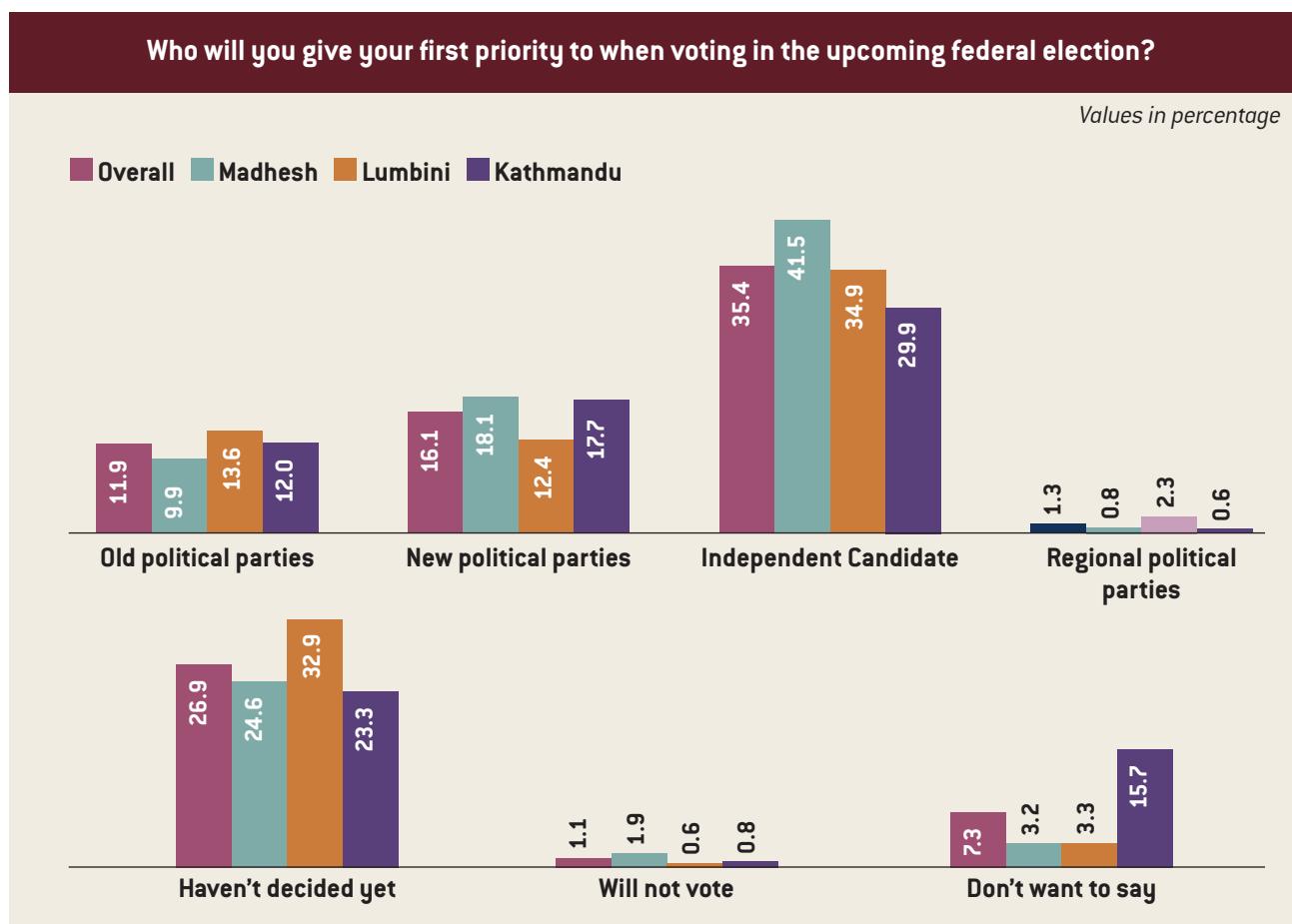


Fig. 2.6 (c): Respondents' perceptions regarding their priorities when voting in the upcoming federal election

In response to the question regarding who you will give first priority to when voting in the next provincial elections, the highest number of respondents were once again in favor of an independent candidate, at 35.4 percent. Following that, 13.7 percent said a new political party, 11.7 percent said an old political party, and 1.3 percent said a regional political party. While 27.8 percent of respondents replied that they have not yet decided, 7.4 percent replied that they do not wish to say. Similarly, 2.7 percent gave the response that they will not vote at all.

Among those who say they will vote for an independent candidate, they represent 41.9 percent in Madhesh, 33.6 percent in Lumbini, and 30.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Regarding new political parties, 16.4 percent in Madhesh, 11.3 percent in Lumbini, and 13.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they would vote for them, while 10.3 percent in Madhesh, 13.6 percent in Lumbini, and 11.2 percent in the Kathmandu Valley said they would vote for an old political party. Similarly, 0.8 percent of respondents in Madhesh, 2.5 percent in Lumbini, and 0.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they would vote for a regional political party.

While 24.8 percent in Madhesh, 34.7 percent in Lumbini, and 24 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they have not yet decided who to vote for, 3.9 percent in Madhesh, 3 percent in Lumbini, and 15.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley gave the response that they do not wish to say. Those who said they will not vote at all account for 1.9 percent in Madhesh, 1.3 percent in Lumbini, and 4.8 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

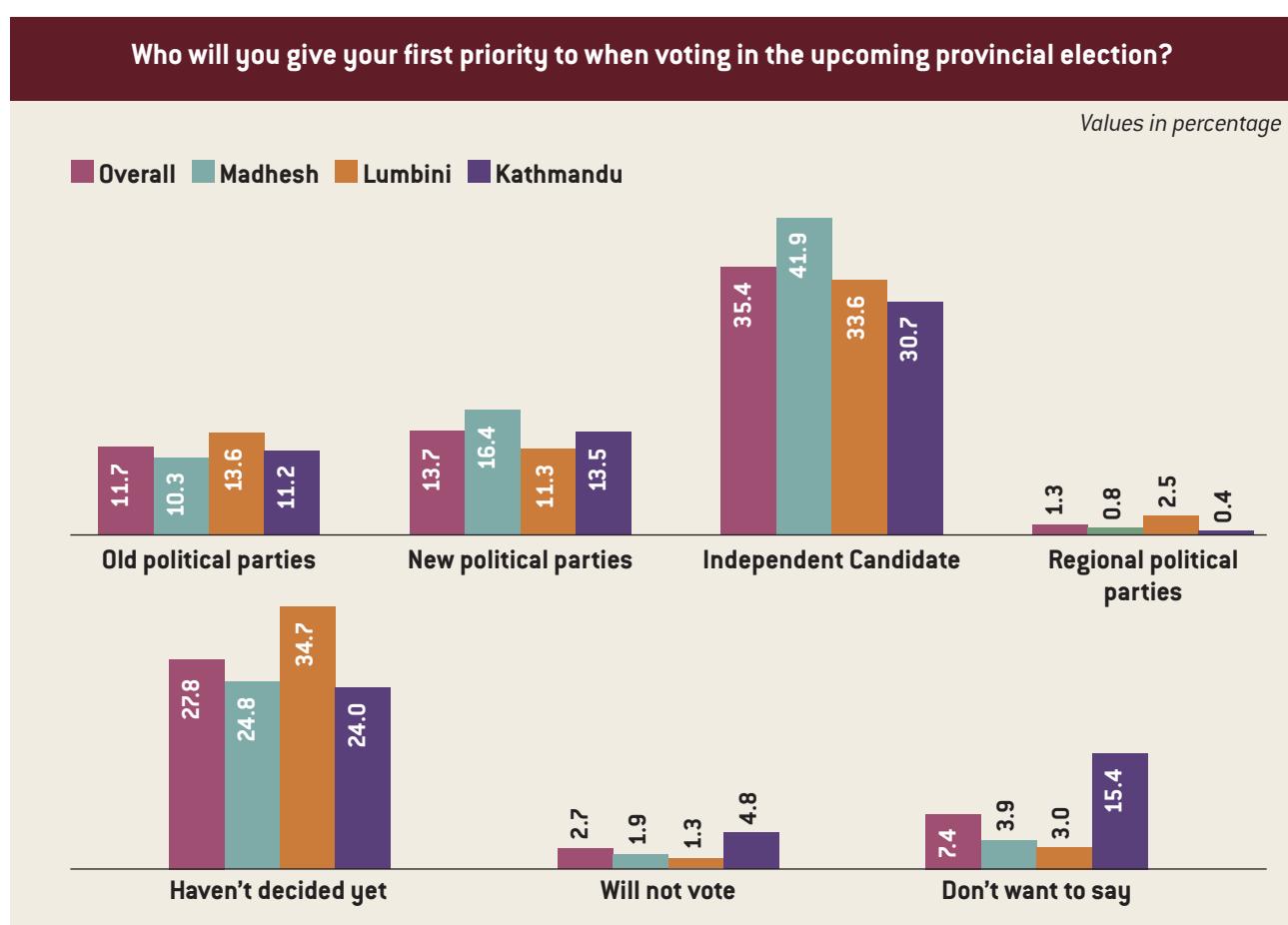


Fig. 2.6 (d): Respondents' perceptions regarding their priorities when voting in the upcoming provincial election

In response to the question regarding who you will give first priority to when voting in the next local level elections, the highest number of respondents (41.5%) gave the answer of an independent candidate. Following that, 11.9 percent said an old political party, 11.5 percent said a new political party, and 1.1 percent said a regional political party. While 25.8 percent responded that they have not yet decided, 6.9 percent replied that they do not wish to say. Additionally, 1.3 percent gave the response that they will not vote at all.

Region-wise, 48.4 percent in Madhesh, 40.3 percent in Lumbini, and 35.8 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they would vote for an independent candidate. Similarly, 9.9 percent of respondents in Madhesh, 14.3 percent in Lumbini, and 11.2 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they would vote for an old political party, while 11.4 percent in Madhesh, 10.5 percent in Lumbini, and 12.6 percent in the Kathmandu Valley said they would vote for a new political party. Those who say they will vote for a regional political party account for 0.4 percent in Madhesh, 2.1 percent in Lumbini, and 0.8 percent in Kathmandu.

While 24.4 percent in Madhesh, 28.6 percent in Lumbini, and 24.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley stated they have not yet decided who to vote for, 3.6 percent in Madhesh, 3.2 percent in Lumbini, and 14.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley gave the response that they do not wish to say. Those who replied that they will not vote at all account for 1.9 percent in Madhesh, 0.8 percent in Lumbini, and 1.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

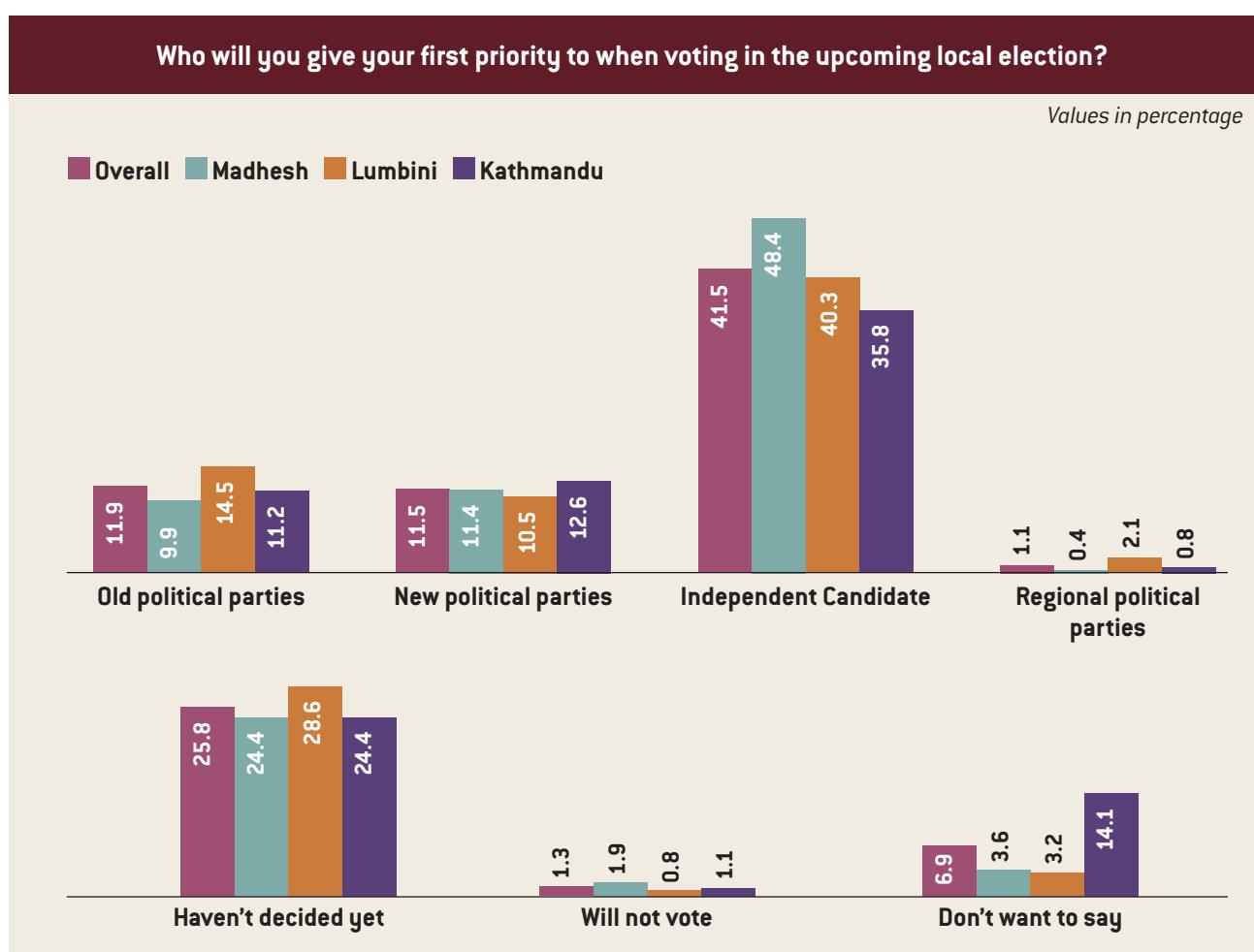


Fig. 2.6 (e): Respondents' perceptions regarding their priorities when voting in the upcoming local election

3. Citizens' Perceptions Toward Leadership

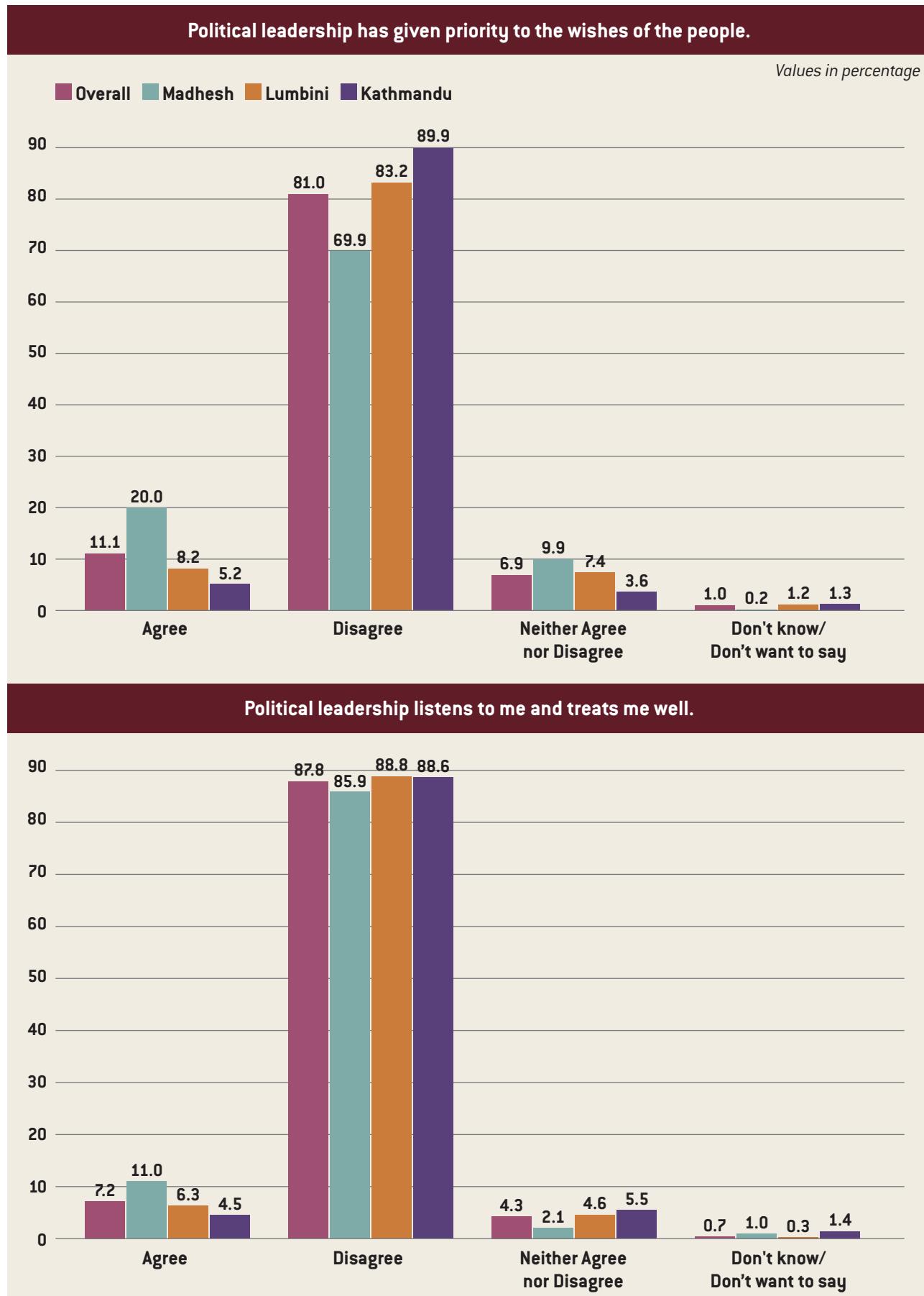


Fig. 3 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding political leadership

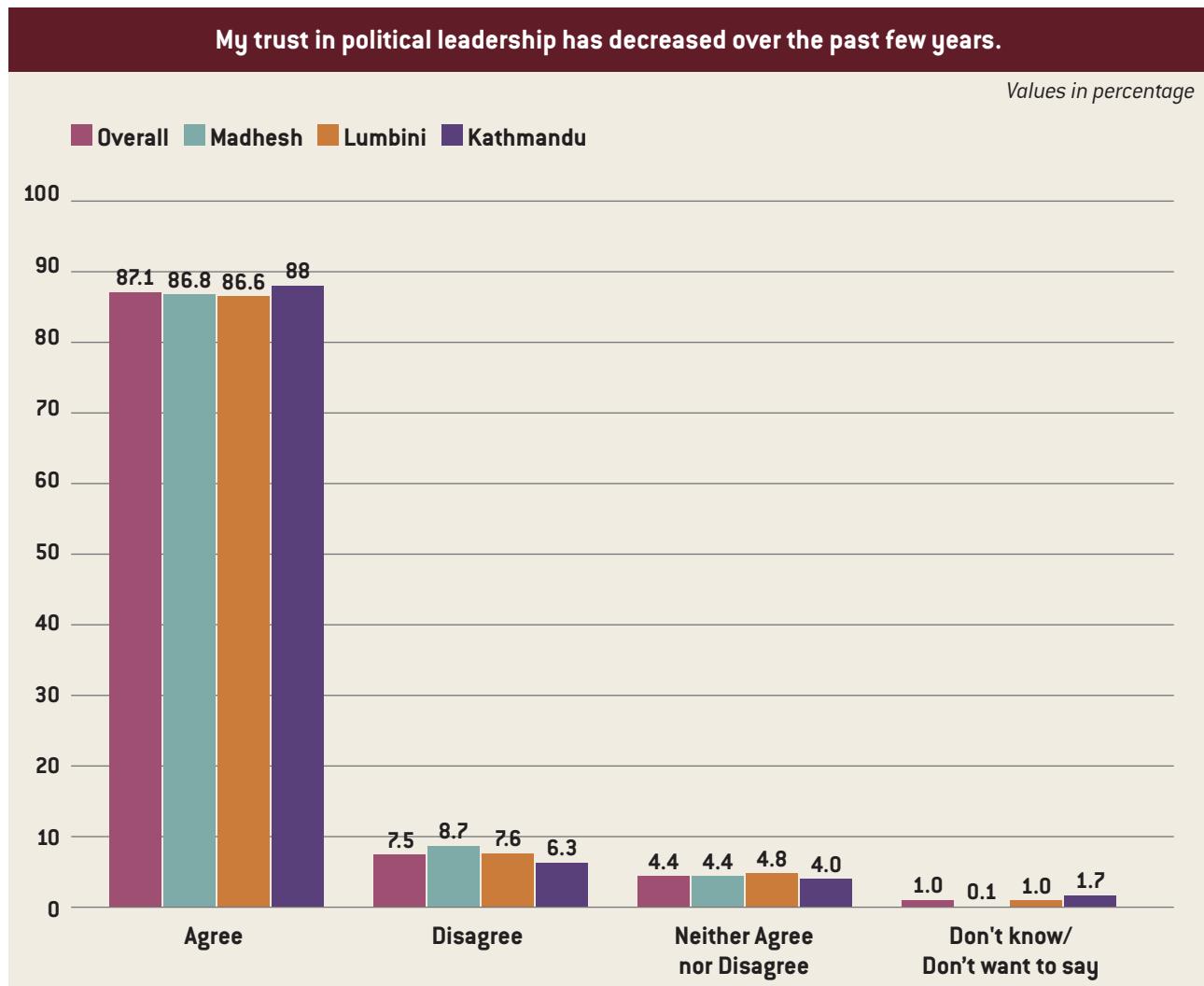


Fig. 3 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding political leadership

Regarding the statement that political leadership has prioritized the people's desires, 11.1 percent agree while 81 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement are fewer in Lumbini (8.2%) compared to Madhesh (20%), and even fewer in the Kathmandu Valley (5.2%) compared to Lumbini Province. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 69.9 percent in Madhesh, 83.2 percent in Lumbini, and 89.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

Regarding the statement that political leadership listens to my concerns and treats me well, 7.2 percent agree while 87.8 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement are fewer in Lumbini Province (6.3%) compared to Madhesh Province (11%), and even fewer in the Kathmandu Valley (4.5%) compared to Lumbini. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 85.9 percent in Madhesh, 88.8 percent in Lumbini, and 88.6 percent in Kathmandu.

Regarding the statement that my trust in political leadership has decreased over the past few years, 87.1 percent agree while 7.5 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement in Madhesh (86.8%) are slightly more than those in Lumbini (86.6%), while the percentage in the Kathmandu Valley (88%) is slightly higher. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 8.7 percent in Madhesh, 7.6 percent in Lumbini, and 6.3 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

4. Perception Toward the System

4.1 Relevance of federalism

To the statement that federalism has made it easier to access services and facilities, 56.3 percent of the respondents agree, while 29.8 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement are more numerous in Madhesh Province (56%) compared to the Kathmandu Valley (47.2%), and the percentage in Lumbini Province (65.8%) is higher still. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 38.8 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, 30.8 percent in Madhesh Province, and 20.2 percent in Lumbini Province.

Regarding the statement that tax rates have increased due to federalism, 89.4 percent agree while 2.4 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement are higher in Lumbini Province (90.3%) compared to the Kathmandu Valley (87.2%), while the percentage in Madhesh Province (90.7%) is slightly higher than in Lumbini. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 1.5 percent in Lumbini Province, 2.3 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, and 2.9 percent in Madhesh Province.

Regarding the statement that reducing the number of federal members of parliament would send a positive message to the public about politics, 82.4 percent agree while 3.2 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement are more numerous in the Kathmandu Valley (83.7%) compared to Lumbini Province (70.6%), while the percentage in Madhesh Province (92.9%) is higher still. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 1.9 percent in Madhesh, 3.8 percent in Lumbini, and 4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

Regarding the statement that the importance of federalism would increase if the number of members of parliament and ministers in the provinces were reduced, 79.5 percent agree while 4.7 percent disagree. Those who agree with this statement are higher in the Kathmandu Valley (79.6%) compared to Lumbini Province (69.1%), while the percentage in Madhesh Province (89.7%) is even higher. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 6.3 percent in Lumbini, 5.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, and 2.1 percent in Madhesh Province.

Regarding the statement that provincial government is necessary to coordinate with the federal and local governments, 49 percent agree while 32.6 percent disagree. The agreement rate for this statement is higher in Lumbini Province (43.9%) compared to the Kathmandu Valley (39.2%), while the percentage in Madhesh Province (64%) is even higher. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 40.9 percent in Kathmandu, 29.7 percent in Lumbini, and 27.6 percent in Madhesh.

Regarding the statement that increasing the number of local levels would make service delivery even easier for the public, 45.1 percent agree while 41.4 percent disagree. The agreement to this statement is higher in Lumbini (43.5%) compared to the Kathmandu Valley (37.1%), while the percentage in Madhesh (54.7%) is higher still. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 50.6 percent in Kathmandu, 38.7 percent in Lumbini, and 35.2 percent in Madhesh.

Regarding the statement that the federal system has addressed the country's diversity (such as ethnic, linguistic, religious, regional, etc.), 57.3 percent agree while 23.7 percent disagree. The agreement to this statement is higher in the Kathmandu Valley (52.8%) compared to Lumbini Province (50.8%), while the percentage in Madhesh Province (68.2%) is the highest.

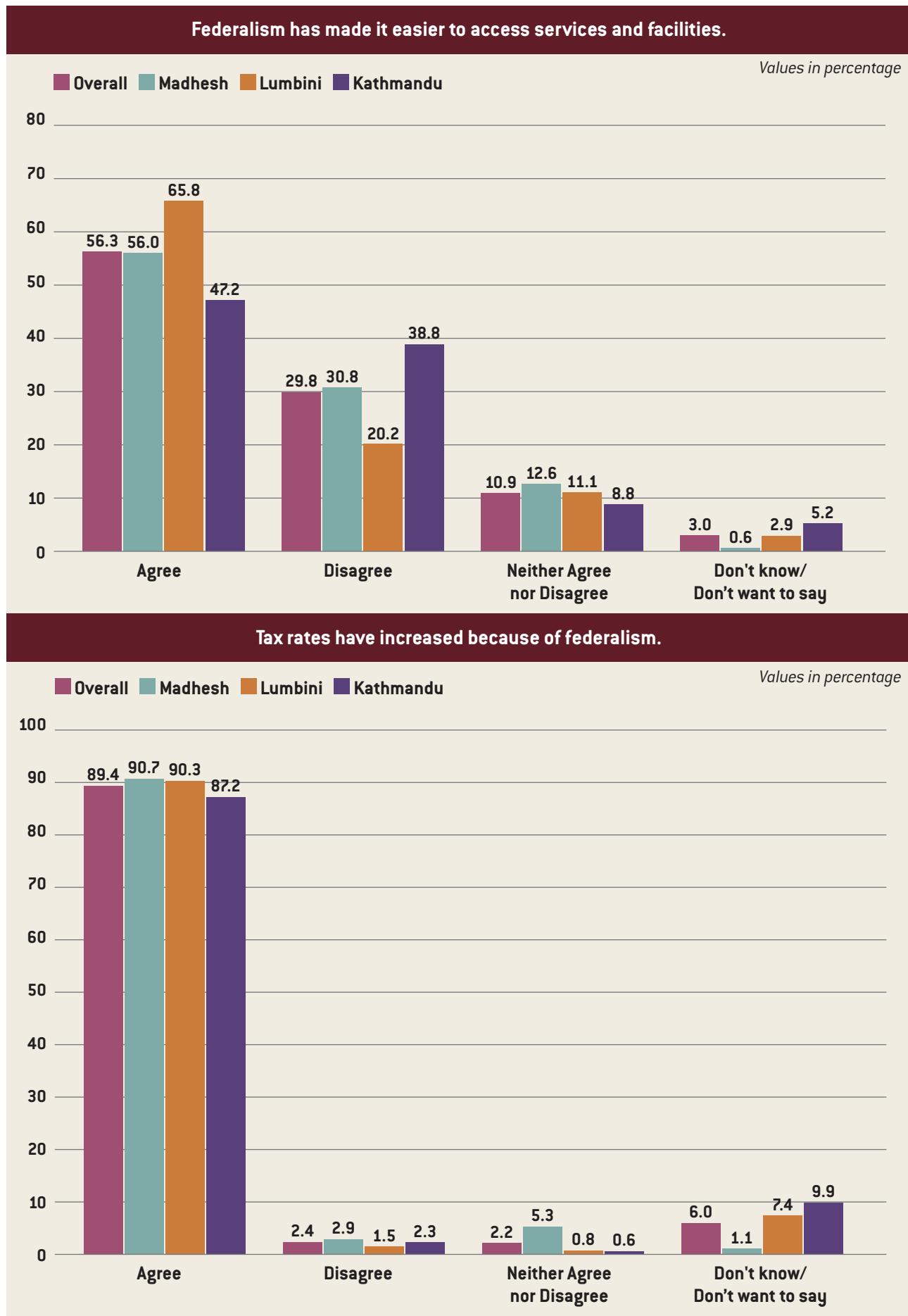


Fig. 4.1 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the relevance of federalism

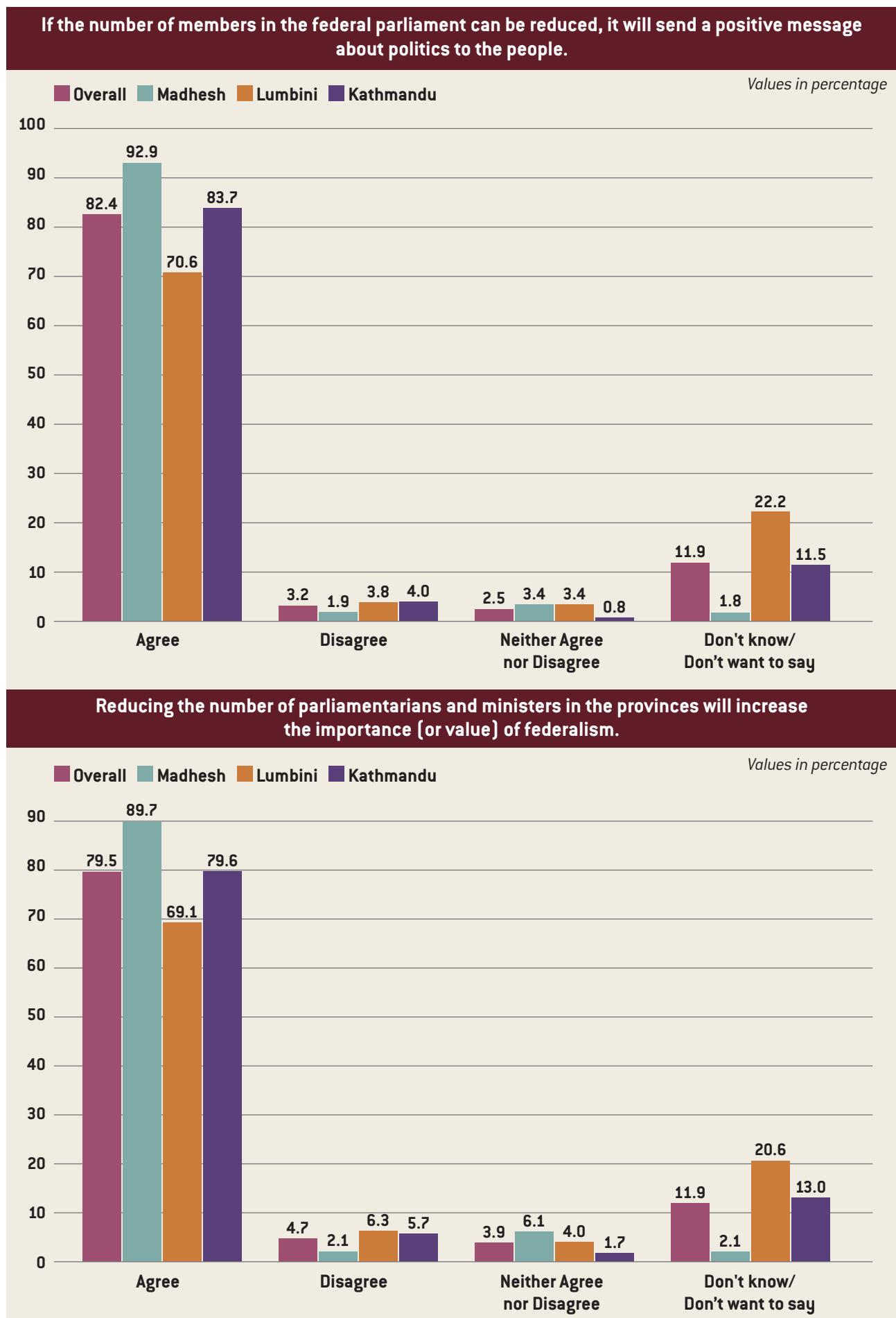
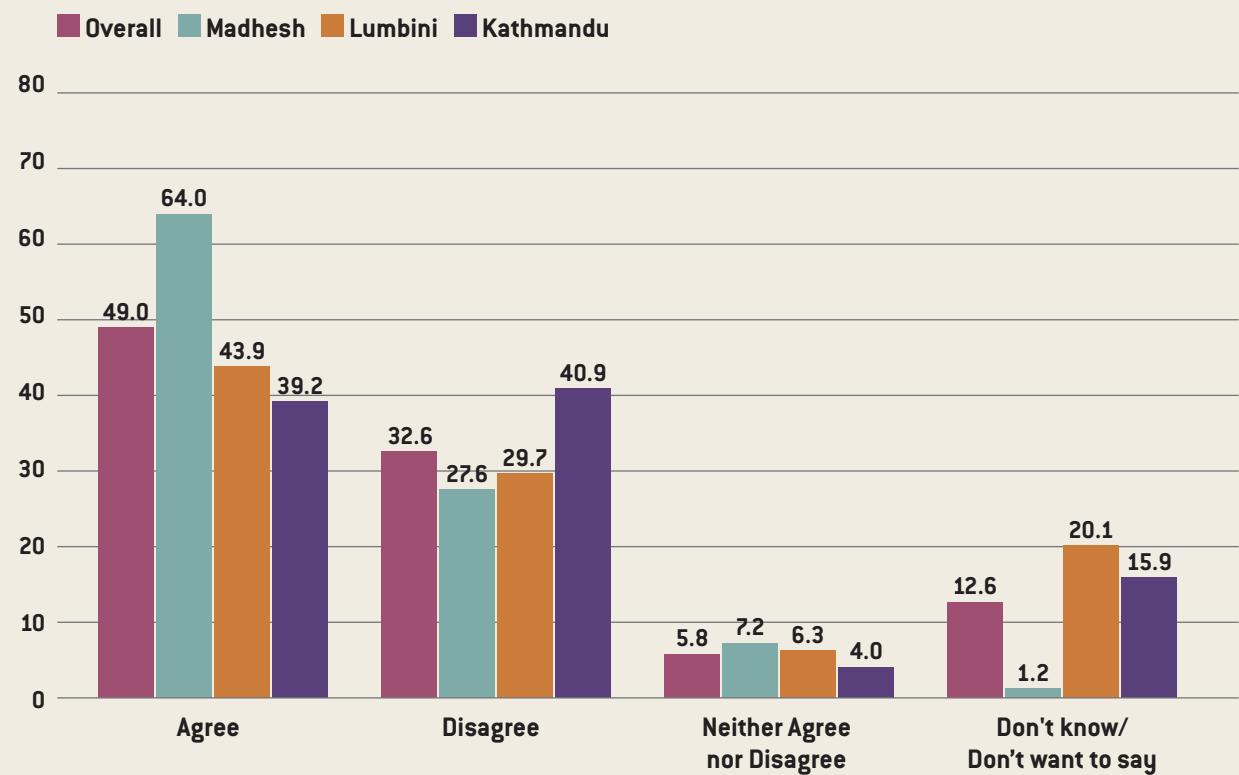


Fig. 4.1 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding the relevance of federalism

The provincial government is necessary to coordinate between the federal and local governments.

Values in percentage



If the number of local levels were increased, service delivery to the people would have been even easier.

Values in percentage

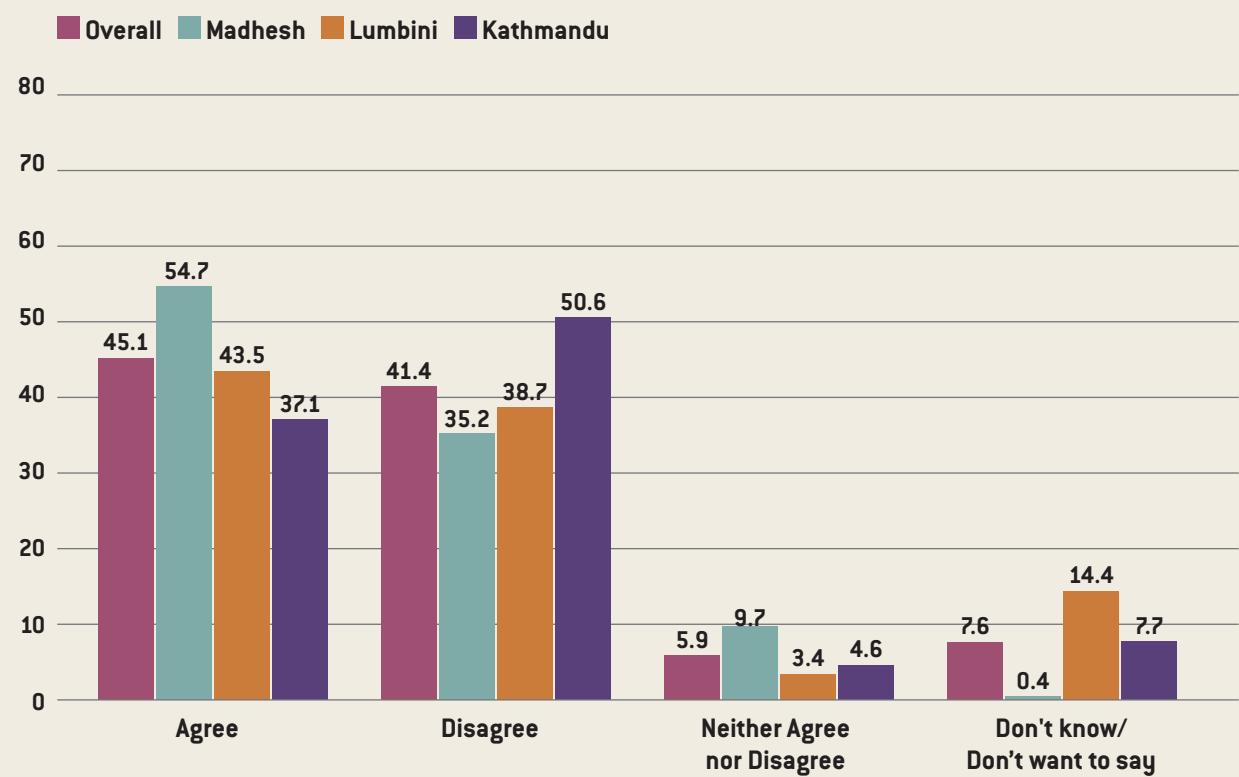


Fig. 4.1 (c): Respondents' perceptions regarding the relevance of federalism

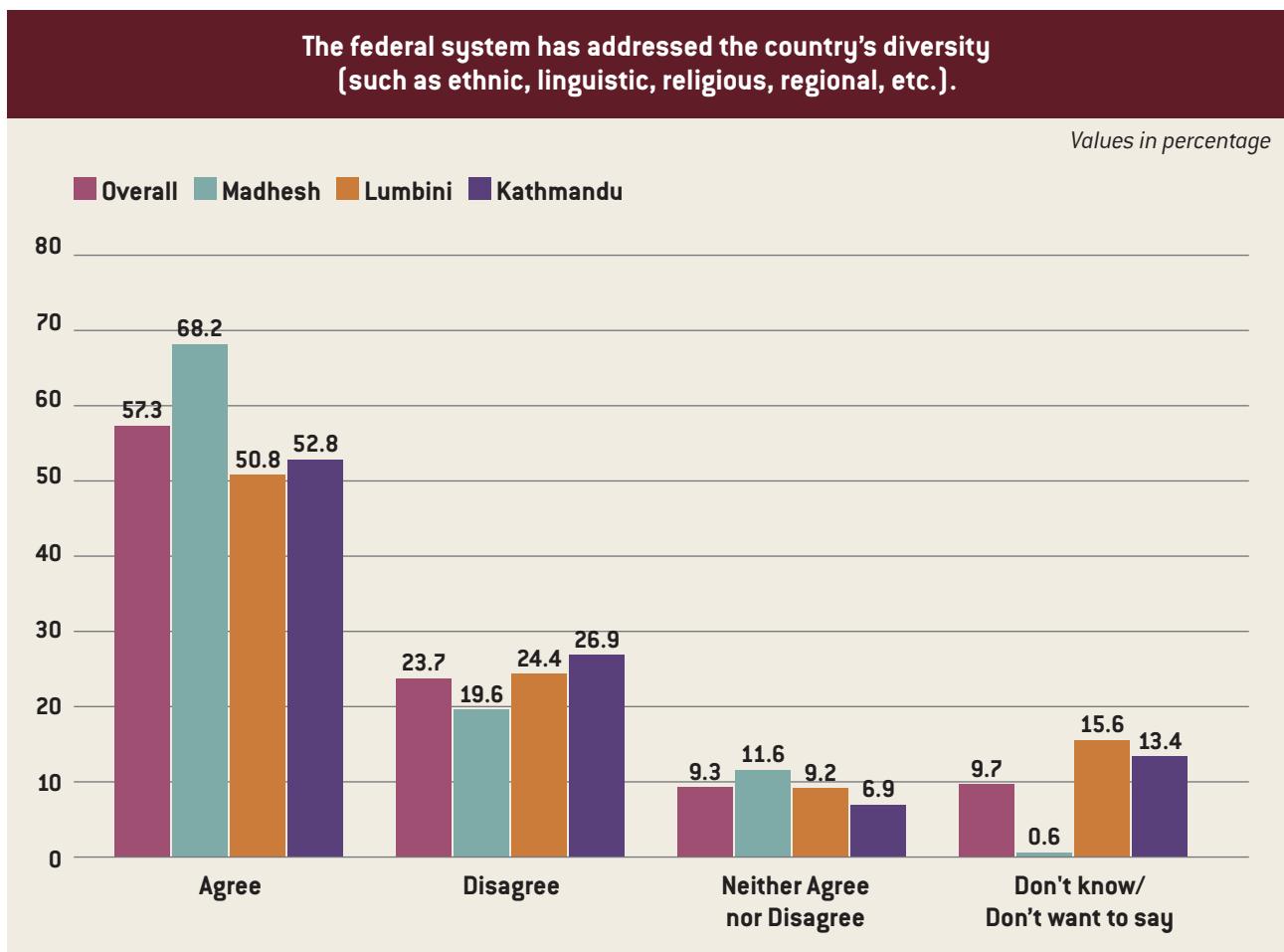


Fig. 4.1 (d): Respondents' perceptions regarding the relevance of federalism

4.2 Constitutional amendment

Regarding the statement that constitutional amendment is necessary, 72.6 percent agree while 5.1 percent disagree. The agreement rate for this statement is higher in the Kathmandu Valley (76%) compared to Lumbini Province (59.7%), while the percentage in Madhesh Province (82.1%) is even higher. Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 2.9 percent in Lumbini Province and 7.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

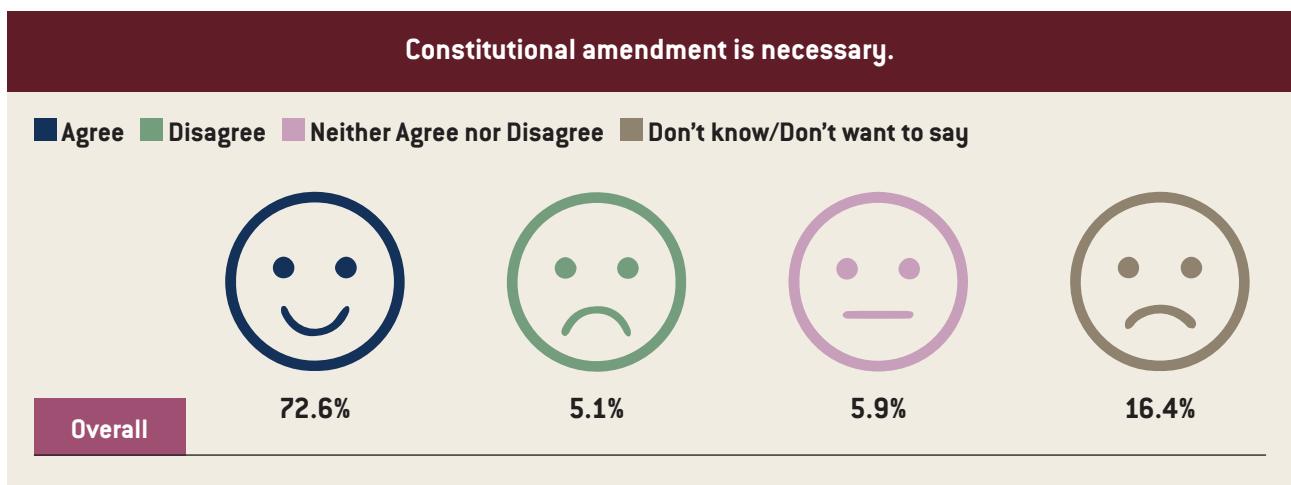


Fig. 4.2 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding constitutional amendment



Fig. 4.2 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding constitutional amendment

4.3 Threat to the democratic system

In exploring the question of who poses a threat to the democratic system, respondents shared their opinions by measuring the degree of risk involved. In this context, 32.1 percent believe there is a great deal of threat from foreign powers, while 40.1 percent believe there is some threat. Similarly, 13.7 percent gave the response that there is no threat at all from foreign powers, while 14.1 percent gave the response that do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system from foreign powers, there are 29.1 percent in Madhesh Province, 32.4 percent in Lumbini Province, and 34.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Among those who see some threat, there are 51.2 percent in Madhesh Province, 33.8 percent in Lumbini Province, and 35.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who say there is no threat at all from foreign powers are 17.7 percent in Madhesh, 7.6 percent in Lumbini, and 16 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

Regarding the threat from big political parties, 29.1 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 36.8 percent believe there is some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all are 21 percent, while 13.1 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish

to say regarding this matter. Among those who see a great deal of threat from big political parties, there are 41.1 percent in Madhesh, 14.1 percent in Lumbini, and 32.2 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who see some threat represent 47.4 percent in Madhesh, 37.6 percent in Lumbini Province, and 25.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who say there is no threat at all from big political parties constitute 10.5 percent in Madhesh, 22.5 percent in Lumbini, and 29.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from secularism-opposing forces, 19.8 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 36.5 percent see some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all from secularism-opposing forces are 27.6 percent, while 16.1 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter. Among those who see a great deal of threat from secularism-opposing forces, there are 32.6 percent in Madhesh, 9.9 percent in Lumbini, and 16.8 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who see some threat represent 47.2 percent in Madhesh, 33 percent in Lumbini, and 29.3 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who say there is no threat at all from secularism-opposing forces are 18.1 percent in Madhesh, 29 percent in Lumbini, and 35.6 percent in Kathmandu.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from federalism-opposing forces, 18.5 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 41.1 percent believe there is some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all are 21.8 percent, while 18.6 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system from federalism-opposing forces, there are 30.3 percent in Madhesh, 7.4 percent in Lumbini, and 17.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who see some threat represent 55.2 percent in Madhesh, 34.9 percent in Lumbini, and 33.3 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who see no threat at all from federalism-opposing forces are 12.6 percent in Madhesh, 23.7 percent in Lumbini, and 29.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while those who gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter are 1.9 percent in Madhesh, 34 percent in Lumbini, and 19.7 percent in Kathmandu.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from royalist parties, 17.5 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, 32.7 percent believe there is some threat, while 37.9 percent believe there is no threat at all and 11.9 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system from royalist parties, there are 21.9 percent in Madhesh, 11.6 percent in Lumbini, and 18.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who believe there is some threat represent 35.4 percent in Madhesh, 36.3 percent in Lumbini, and 26.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Similarly, those who see no threat at all are 41.5 percent in Madhesh, 28.2 percent in Lumbini, and 44 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while 1.2 percent in Madhesh, 23.9 percent in Lumbini, and 10.6 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they do not know.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from the former king, 14.1 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 24.2 percent believe there is some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all are 49.9 percent, while 11.8 percent gave the response that they do not wish to say or do not know. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system from the former king, there are 17.3 percent in Madhesh, 12.8 percent in Lumbini,

and 12.2 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who believe there is some threat represent 14.7 percent in Madhesh, 33.8 percent in Lumbini, and 24 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Similarly, those who see no threat at all are 66.9 percent in Madhesh, 30.9 percent in Lumbini, and 51.8 percent in Valley Kathmandu, while 1.1 percent in Madhesh, 22.5 percent in Lumbini, and 12 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from new parties, 4.6 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 27 percent believe there is some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all are 54.2 percent, while 14.2 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system

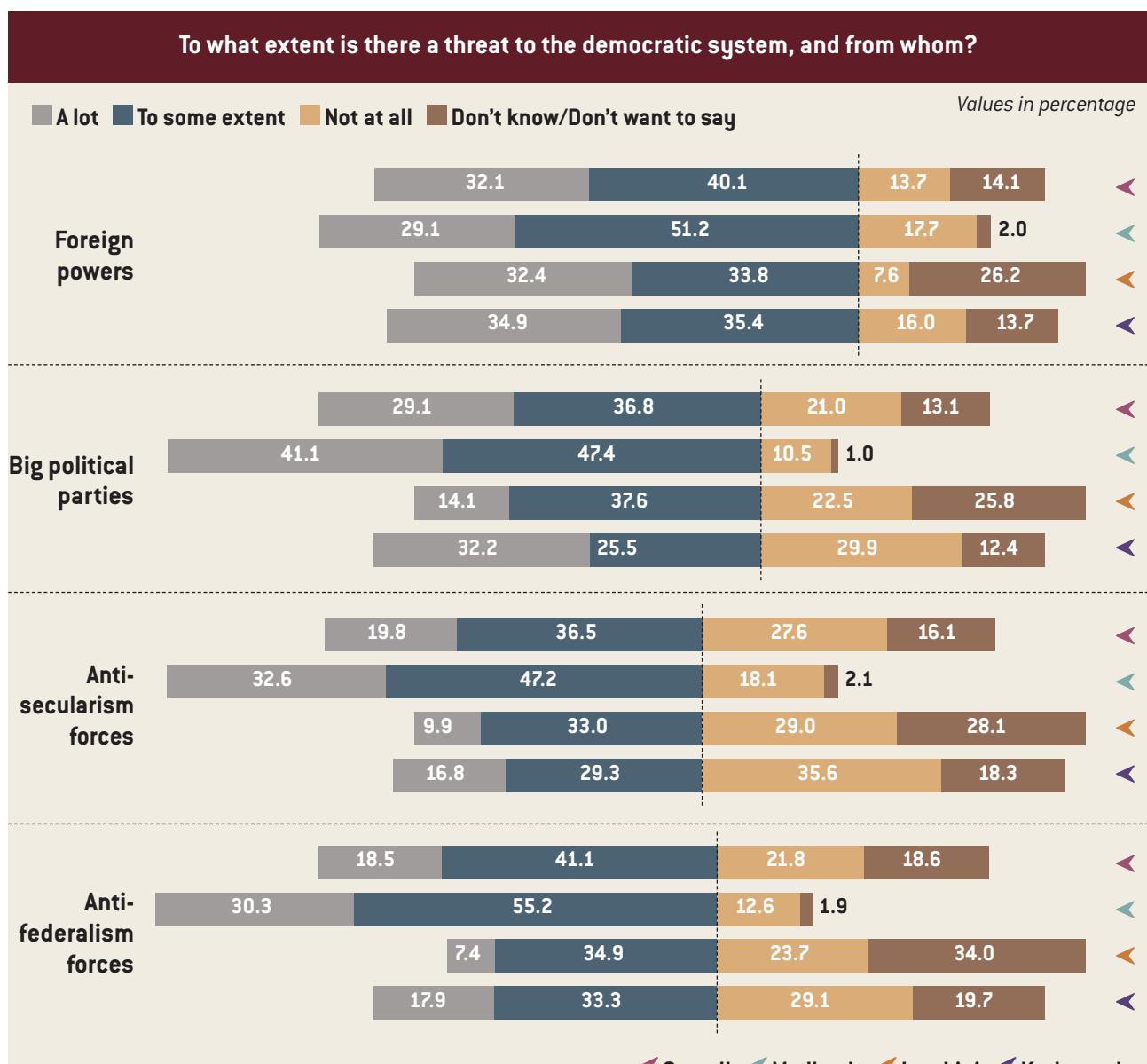


Fig. 4.3 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the source of threat to the democratic system

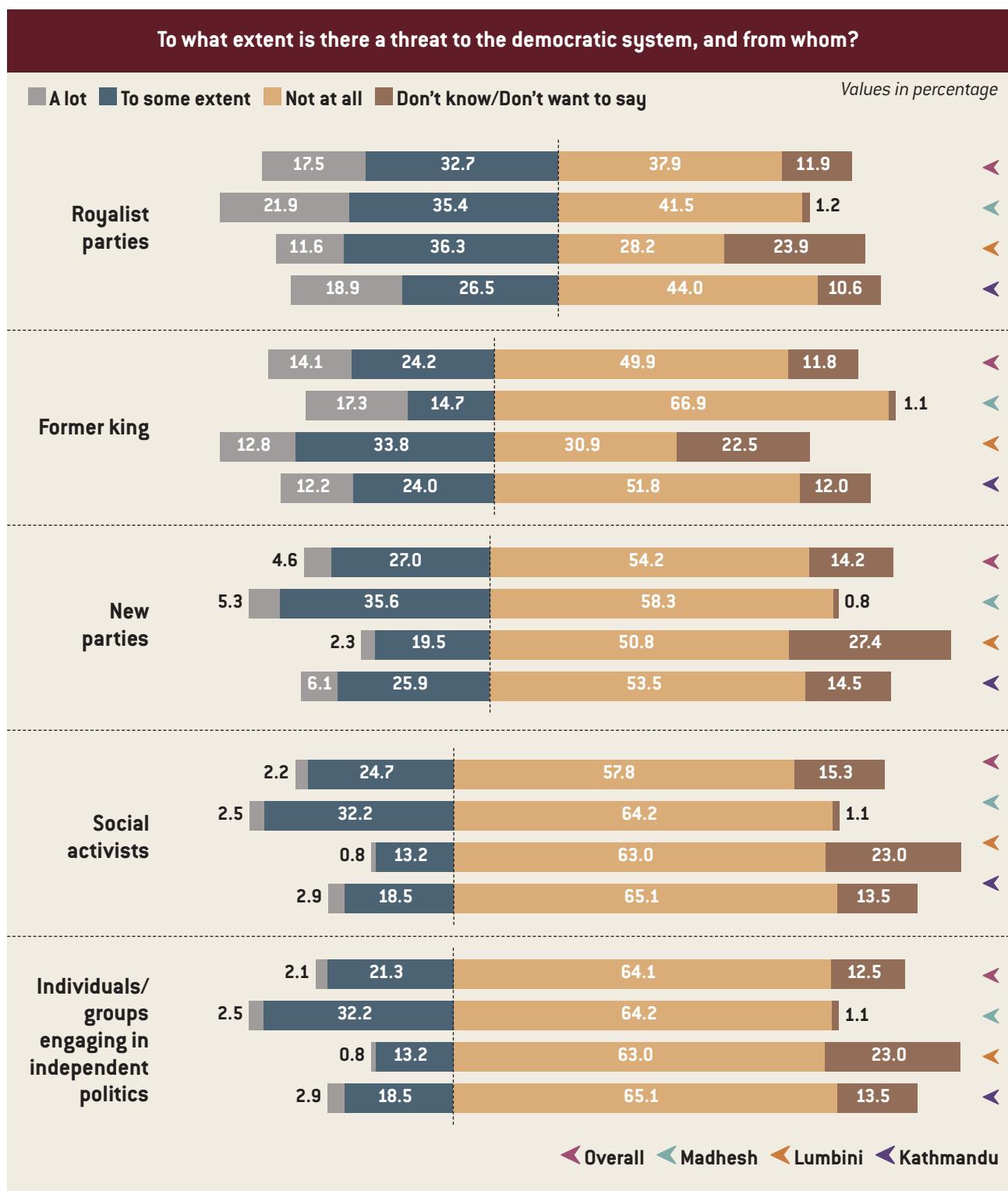


Fig. 4.3 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding the source of threat to the democratic system

from new parties, there are 5.3 percent in Madhesh Province, 2.3 percent in Lumbini Province, and 6.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who see some threat represent 35.6 percent in Madhesh, 19.5 percent in Lumbini, and 25.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who say there is no threat at all are 58.3 percent in Madhesh, 50.8 percent in Lumbini, and 53.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while 0.8 percent in Madhesh, 27.4 percent in Lumbini, and 14.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from social activists, 2.2 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 24.7 percent believe there is some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all are 57.8 percent, while 15.3 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system from social activists, there are 2.5 percent in Madhesh, 0.8 percent in Lumbini, and 2.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who see some threat represent 32.2 percent in Madhesh, 13.2 percent in Lumbini, and 18.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who say there is no threat at all from social activists comprise 64.2 percent in Madhesh, 63 percent in Lumbini, and 65.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while 1.1 percent in Madhesh, 23 percent in Lumbini, and 13.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter.

Regarding the threat to the democratic system from individuals or groups engaged in independent politics, 2.1 percent believe there is a great deal of threat, while 21.3 percent believe there is some threat. Those who believe there is no threat at all are 64.1 percent, while 12.5 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who see a great deal of threat to the democratic system from individuals or groups engaged in independent politics, there are 2.5 percent in Madhesh, 0.8 percent in Lumbini Province, and 2.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Meanwhile, those who see some threat represent 32.2 percent in Madhesh, 13.2 percent in Lumbini, and 18.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley. Those who say there is no threat at all are 64.2 percent in Madhesh, 63 percent in Lumbini Province, and 65.1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while 1.1 percent in Madhesh Province, 23 percent in Lumbini Province, and 13.5 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they do not know or do not wish to say regarding this matter.

4.4 Foreign interference

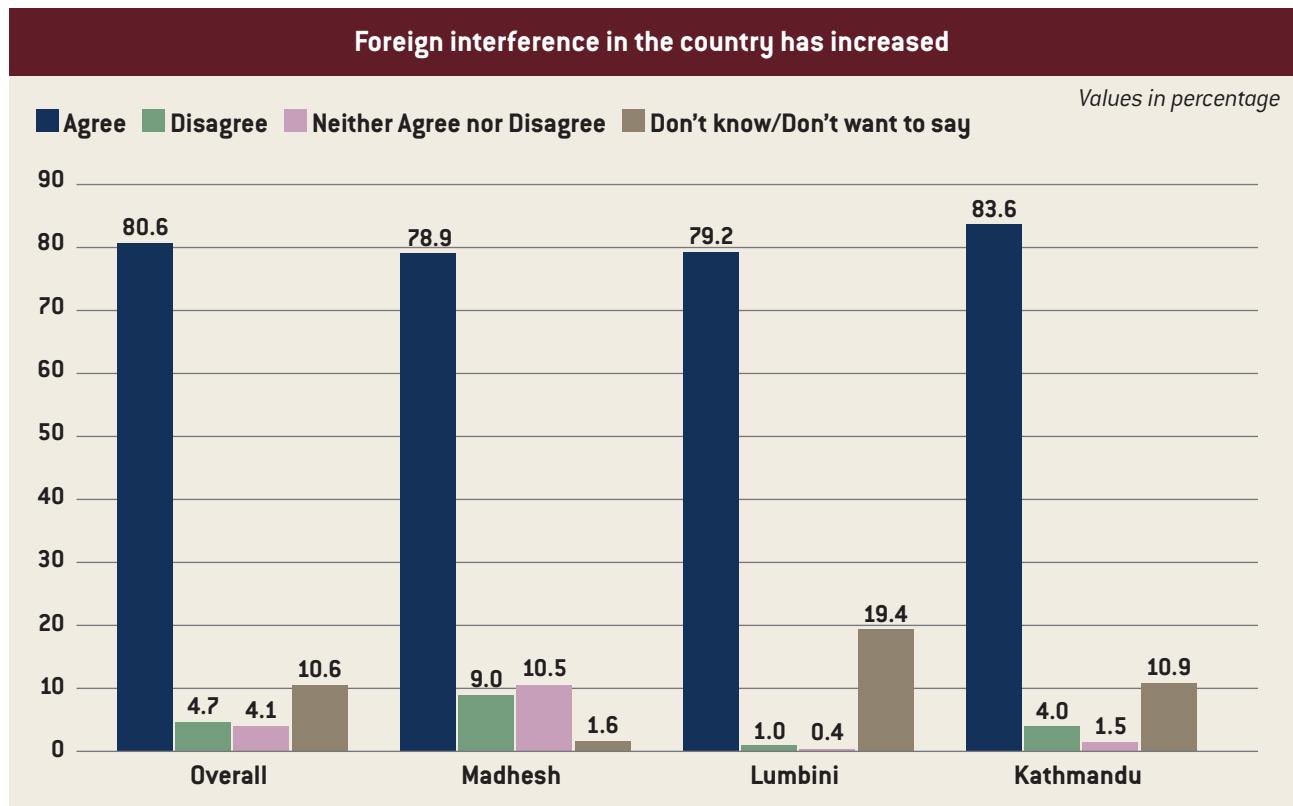


Fig. 4.4: Respondents' perceptions regarding the increase in foreign interference

Regarding the statement that foreign interference in the country has increased, 80.6 percent agree and 4.7 percent disagree. In this regard, 4.1 percent neither agree nor disagree, while 10.6 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Madhesh Province (78.9%), there are more in Lumbini Province (79.2%), while compared to Lumbini, there are even more in the Kathmandu Valley (83.6%). Among those who disagree with this statement, there are 9 percent in Madhesh, 1 percent in Lumbini, and 4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley.

5. Citizen Dissatisfaction and Expression

5.1 Ways of expressing dissatisfaction

Regarding the statement about expressing dissatisfaction with current problems in the country by writing on social media, 25.1 percent agree, while 64.4 percent disagree. Those who neither agree nor disagree represent 6.1 percent, while 4.4 percent gave the response that they do not wish to say. In the case of Madhesh Province, 28.9 percent express dissatisfaction in this way, while 55.4 percent disagree. In the case of Lumbini Province, 21.8 percent express dissatisfaction this way, while 70.6 percent disagree. Similarly, 24.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley express dissatisfaction by writing on social media, while the number of those who disagree is 67.4 percent.

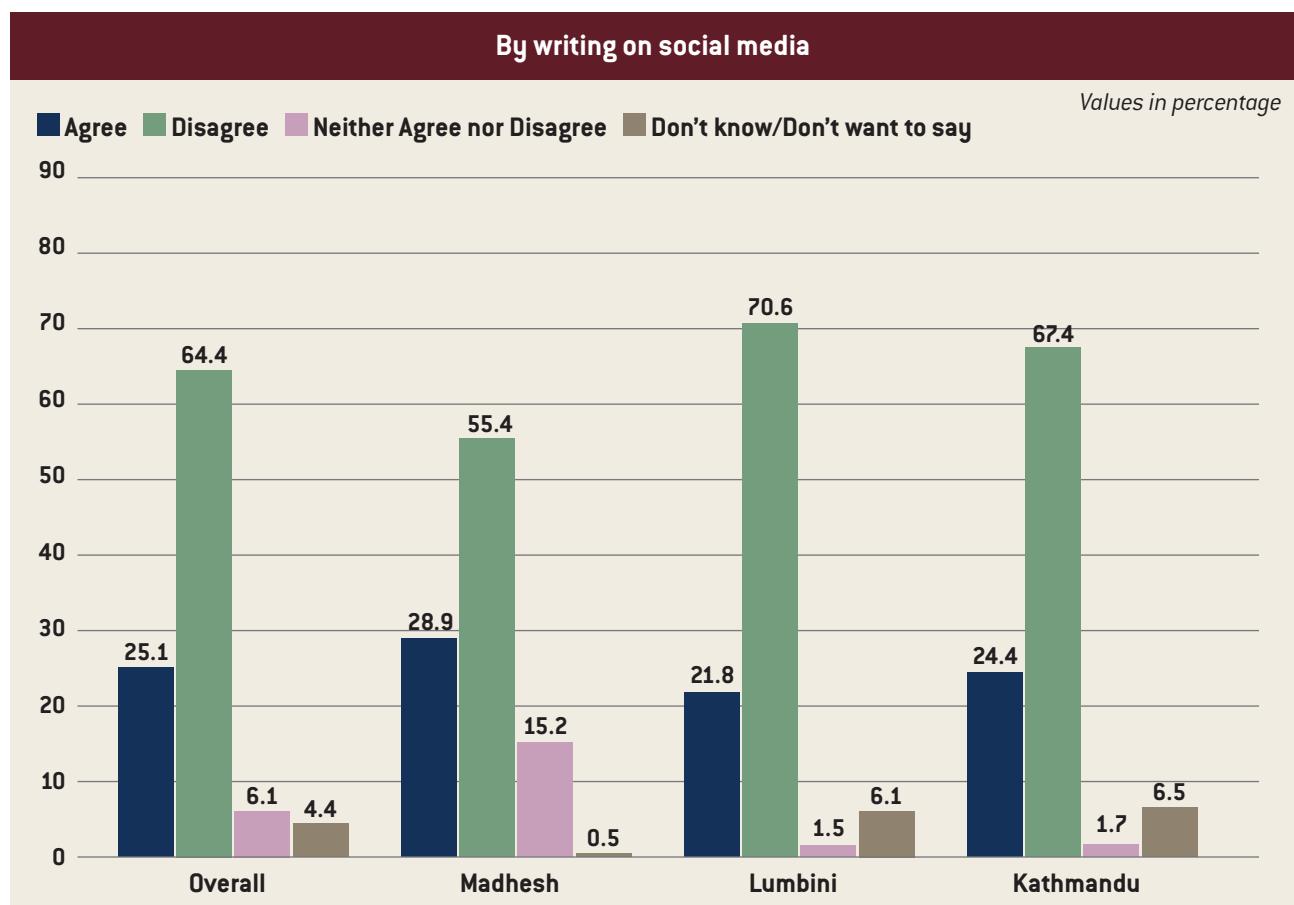


Fig. 5.1 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding methods of expressing dissatisfaction

Regarding the statement about expressing dissatisfaction by talking with home/family members and close individuals, 79.4 percent agree, while 13.7 percent disagree. Those who neither agree nor disagree represent 5.7 percent, while 1.2 percent gave the response that they do not wish to say. In the case of Madhesh Province, 68.9 percent express dissatisfaction in this way, while 17.3 percent disagree. In the case of Lumbini, 88.4 percent stated they express dissatisfaction by talking with home/family and close individuals, while 8.6 percent disagree. Similarly, in the case of the Kathmandu Valley, 80.8 percent stated they express dissatisfaction by talking with home/family and close individuals, while 15.3 percent disagree.

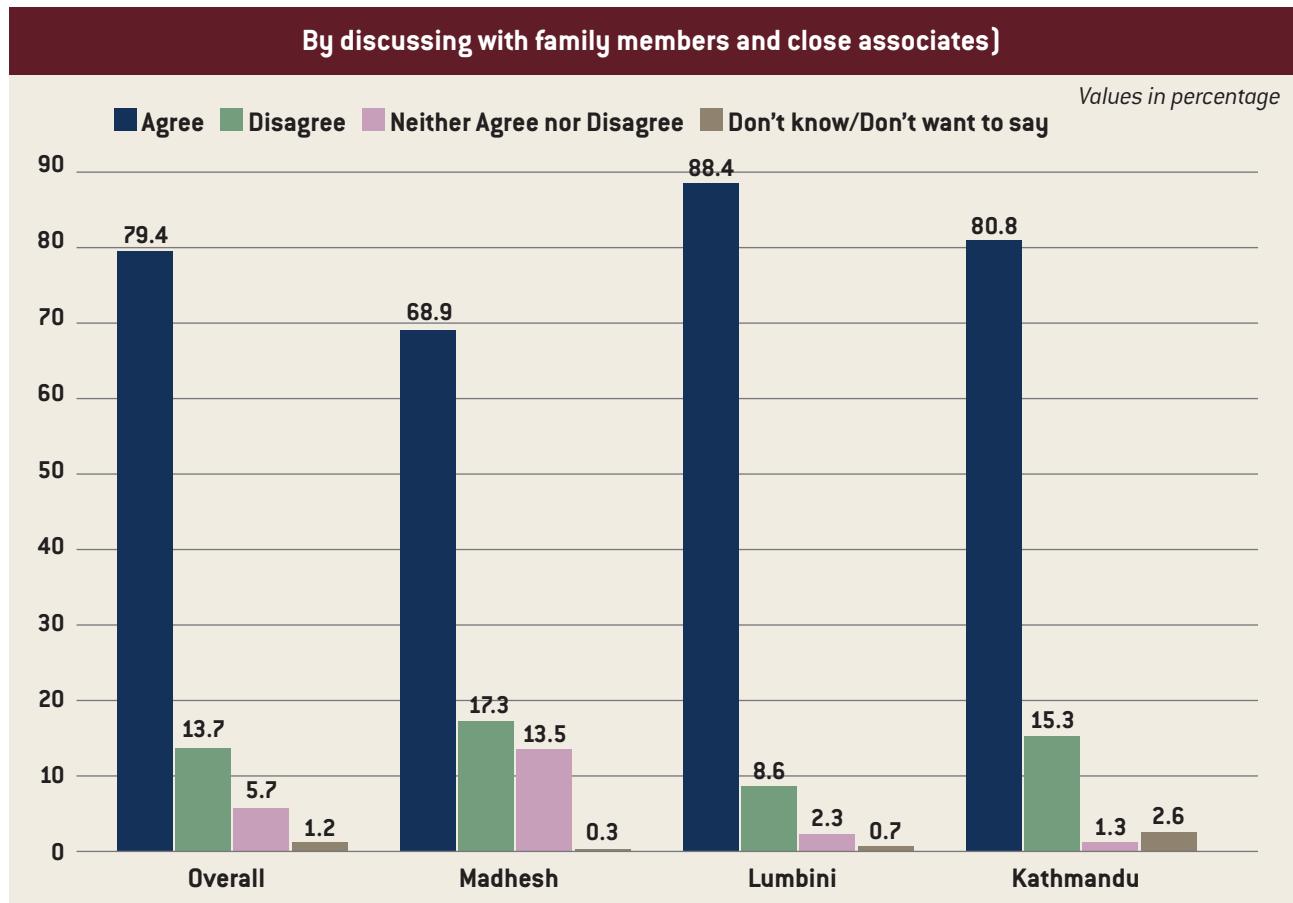


Fig. 5.1 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding methods of expressing dissatisfaction

Regarding the statement about expressing dissatisfaction by changing one's vote through elections, 67.1 percent agree, while 21.4 percent disagree. Those who neither agree nor disagree represent 6.1 percent, while 5.4 percent do not wish to say. In the case of Madhesh, 70.8 percent stated they express dissatisfaction in this way, while 15.8 percent disagree. In the case of Lumbini Province, 64.3 percent stated they express dissatisfaction by changing their vote through elections, while 24.2 percent disagree. Among those expressing dissatisfaction this way, there are 66.6 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while 24.2 percent disagree.

Regarding the statement about expressing dissatisfaction by participating in protests/uprisings, 22.3 percent agree, while 70.6 percent disagree. Those who neither agree nor disagree represent 4.6 percent, while 2.5 percent gave the response that they do not wish to say. In Madhesh Province, 25.2 percent stated they express dissatisfaction in this way, while 63.1 percent disagree. Similarly, in the case of Lumbini Province, 21.8 percent express dissatisfaction this

way, while 73.3 percent disagree. In the Kathmandu Valley, 19.8 percent express dissatisfaction by participating in protests/uprisings, while 75.3 percent disagree.

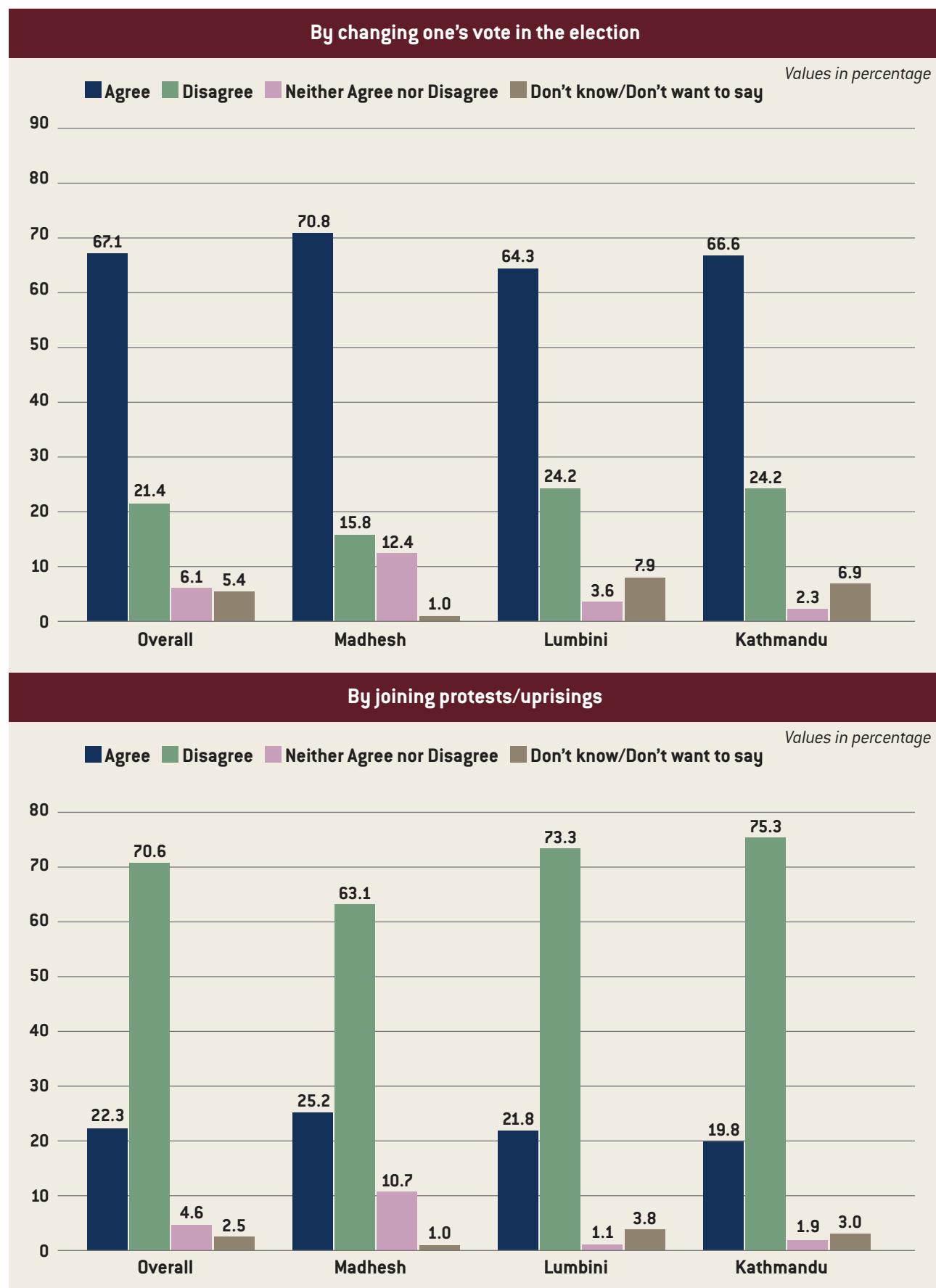


Fig. 5.1 (c): Respondents' perceptions regarding methods of expressing dissatisfaction

5.2 Mobilization of dissatisfaction

Regarding the statement that social media can connect dissatisfied individuals with similar views, 61 percent agree, while 16.9 percent disagree. Those who neither agree nor disagree represent 9.7 percent, while 12.4 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Madhesh Province (55.7%), there are more in Lumbini Province (58.4%), while compared to Lumbini, there are even more in the Kathmandu Valley (68.7%). Regarding this statement, 21.2 percent in Madhesh, 15.5 percent in Lumbini, and 13.9 percent in the Kathmandu Valley disagree.

Regarding the statement that independent individuals can lead dissatisfied people who hold similar views, 66.8 percent agree, while 13.6 percent disagree. The number of those who neither agree nor disagree is 8.6 percent, while 11 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (60.9%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (65.6%), while compared to Kathmandu, there are even more in Madhesh Province (73.8%). Regarding this statement, 11.6 percent of respondents in Madhesh, 13.2 percent in Lumbini Province, and 16.2 percent in the Kathmandu Valley disagree.

Regarding the statement that a specific leader of any party can lead dissatisfied people who hold similar views, 41.7 percent agree, while 33.9 percent disagree. The number of those who neither agree nor disagree is 11.9 percent, while 12.5 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (30.7%), there are more in the Kathmandu Valley (35.6%), while compared to the Kathmandu Valley, there are even more in Madhesh Province (59%). Regarding this statement, 21.3 percent in Madhesh, 38.7 percent in Lumbini, and 41.7 percent in the Kathmandu Valley disagree.

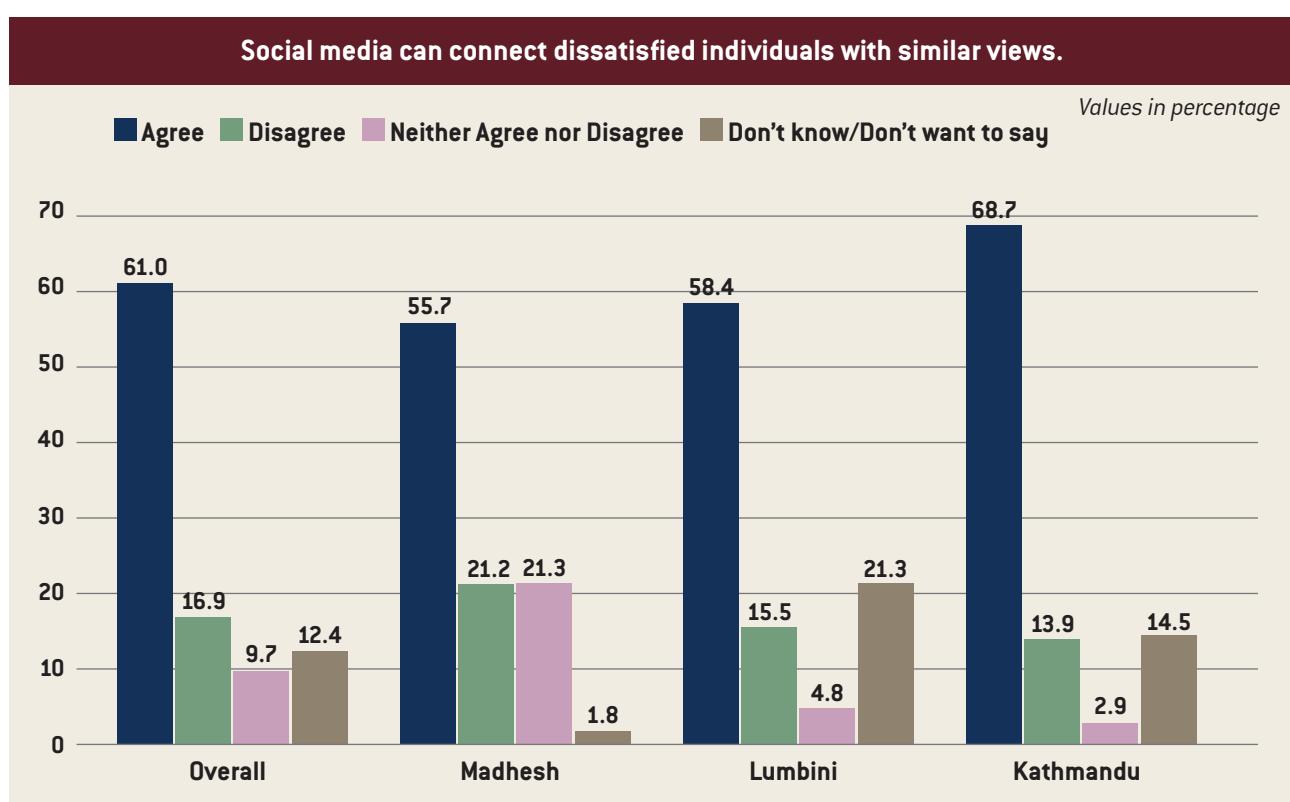
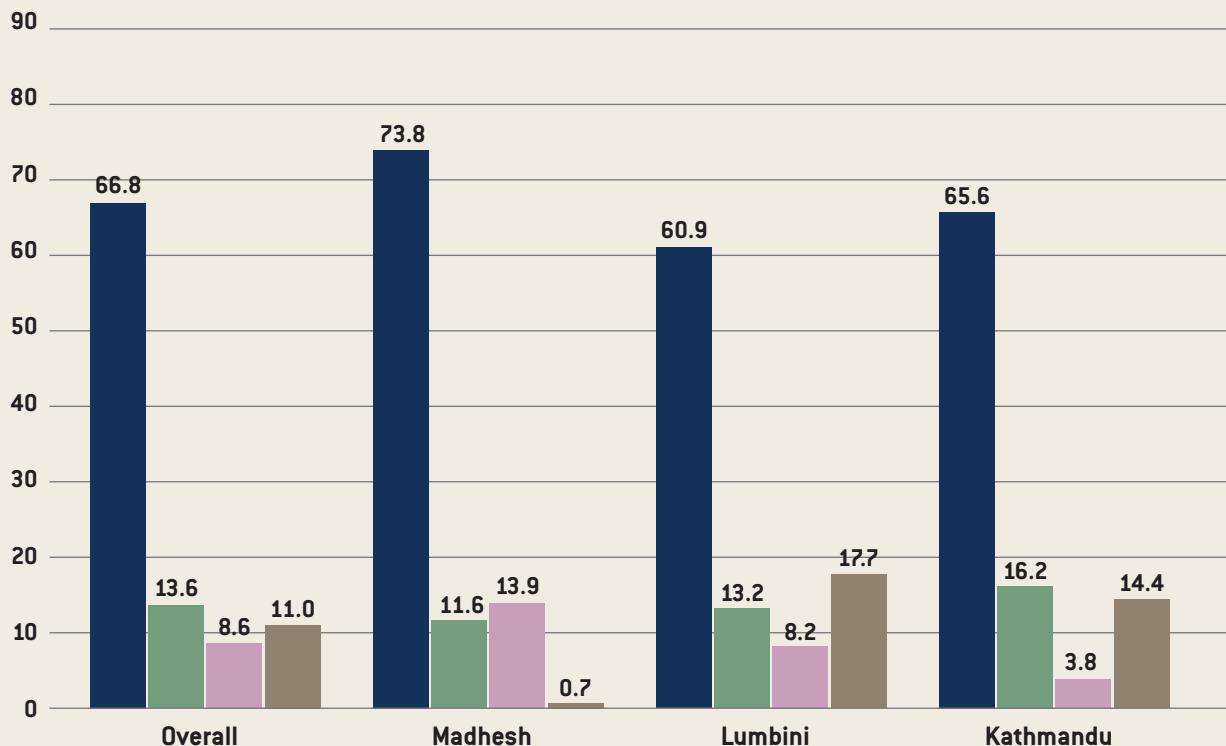


Fig. 5.2 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding the power/individual capable of mobilizing dissatisfaction

An independent individual can lead dissatisfied people who share similar views.

Values in percentage

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ Don't know/Don't want to say



A specific leader of a political party can lead dissatisfied individuals who share similar views

Values in percentage

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ Don't know/Don't want to say

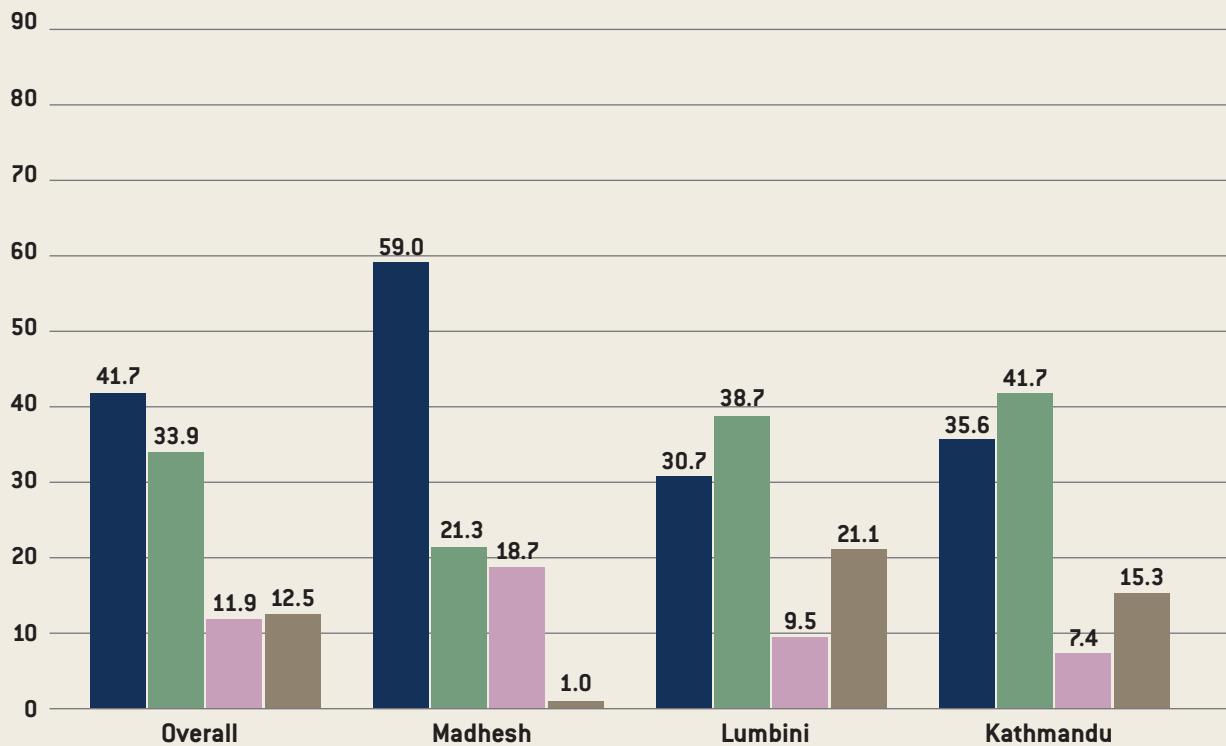


Fig. 5.2 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding the power/individual capable of mobilizing dissatisfaction

6. Government Change and Stability

Regarding the statement that frequent government changes have hindered public service delivery and development activities, 95.5 percent agree, while only 0.8 percent disagree. Those who neither agree nor disagree represent 2 percent, while 1.7 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Madhesh Province (92.4%), there are more in Lumbini Province (96.4%), while compared to Lumbini, there are even more in the Kathmandu Valley (97.5%), albeit by a small margin. Regarding this statement, 1.5 percent in Madhesh, 0.6 percent in Lumbini, and 0.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley disagree.

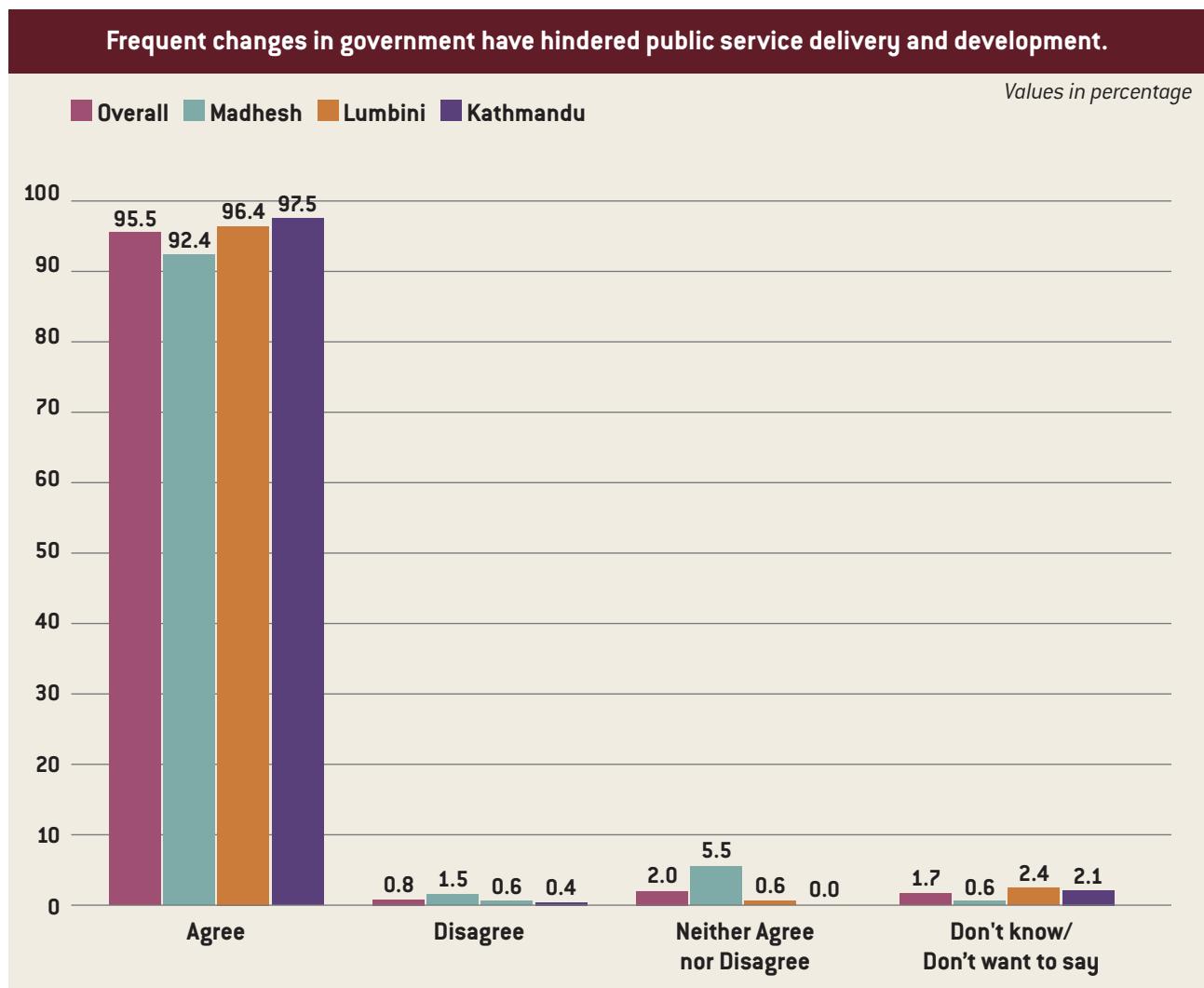


Fig. 6 (a): Respondents' perceptions regarding frequent government changes and government stability

Regarding the statement that a stable government is necessary in the country, 96.4 percent agree, while only 0.8 percent disagree. The number of those who neither agree nor disagree is 1.6 percent, while 1.2 percent gave the response that they do not know or do not wish to say. Among those who agree with this statement, compared to Lumbini Province (94.7%), there are more in Madhesh Province (96.4%), while compared to Madhesh, there are even more in the Kathmandu Valley (98.1%). Regarding this statement, 1.3 percent in Madhesh, 0.8 percent in Lumbini, and 0.2 percent in the Kathmandu Valley disagree.

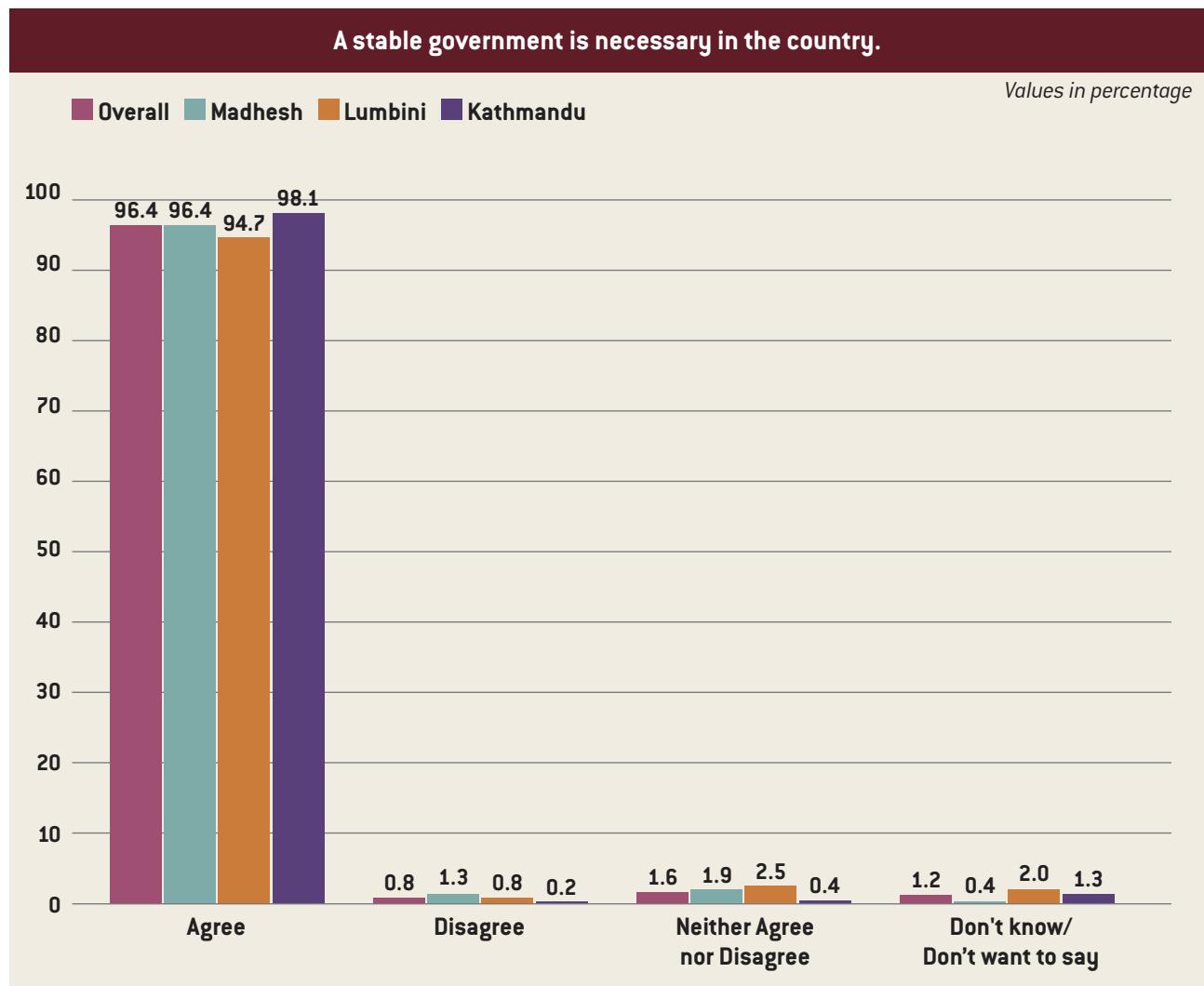


Fig. 6 (b): Respondents' perceptions regarding frequent government changes and government stability

7. Hopes for the Future

Regarding the statement about being optimistic toward overall improvements in the country in the coming days, 53.8 percent are optimistic, while 30.5 percent are pessimistic. Those who are neither optimistic nor pessimistic represent 12.2 percent, while 3.5 percent gave the response that they do not know. Among those who are optimistic, compared to Lumbini Province (47.3%), there are more in Madhesh Province (54.3%), and while compared to Madhesh, there are even more in the Kathmandu Valley (59.8%). Those who are pessimistic toward future improvements are equal in Madhesh Province and the Kathmandu Valley, at 27.8 percent. However, in the case of Lumbini Province, the number of those who are pessimistic toward future improvements in the country is 36.1 percent, which is higher than in Madhesh Province and the Kathmandu Valley. Those who are neither optimistic nor pessimistic toward future improvements are 10.7 percent in Madhesh, 14.5 percent in Lumbini, and 11.4 percent in the Kathmandu Valley, while 7.2 percent in Madhesh Province, 2.1 percent in Lumbini Province, and 1 percent in the Kathmandu Valley responded that they do not know.

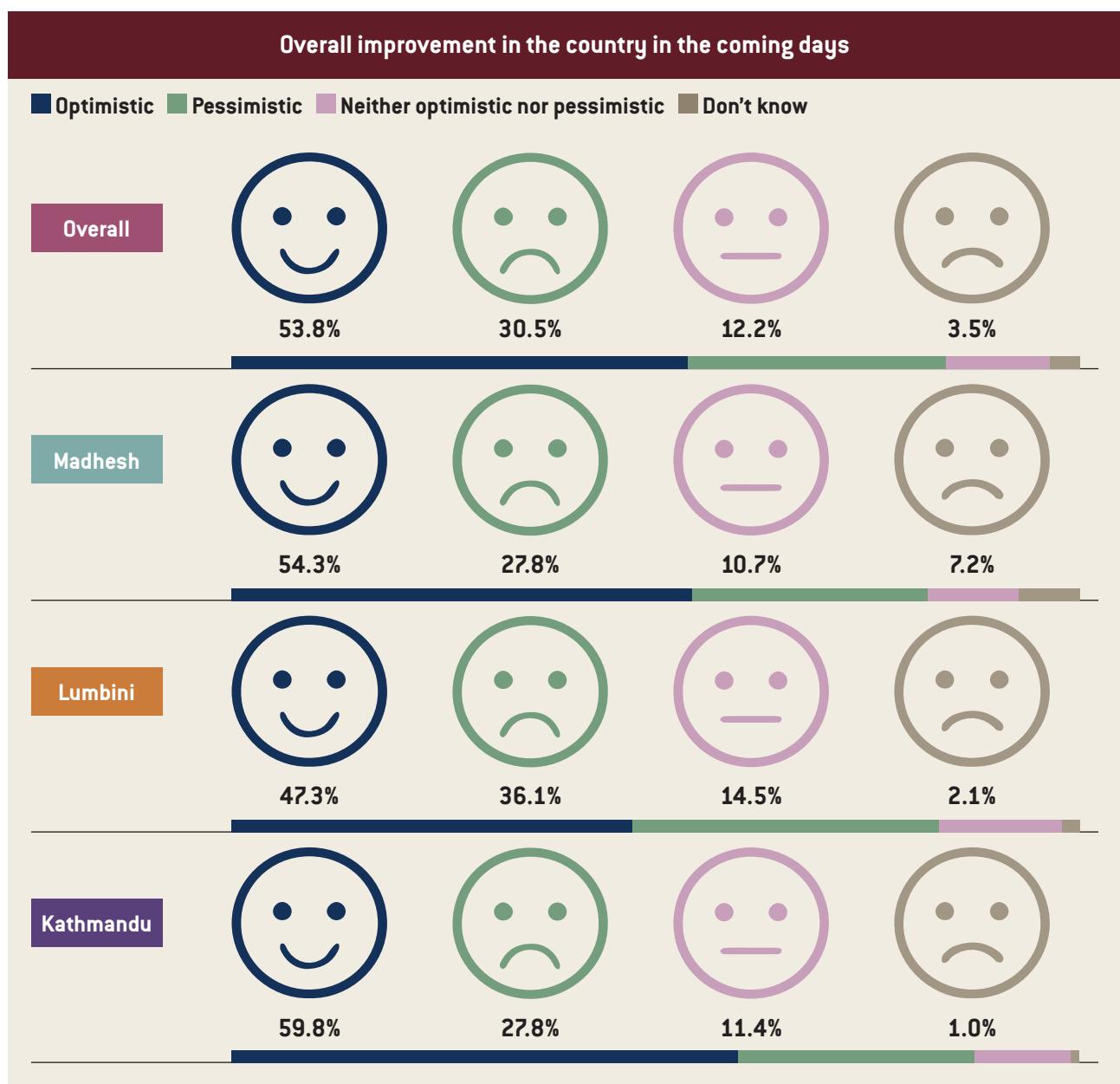


Fig. 7: Respondents' perceptions regarding prospects for improvement in the country in the coming days

Conclusion

This study presents the public opinion of citizens from Madhesh and Lumbini Provinces, as well as the Kathmandu Valley, regarding their sources of information, the role of various media in forming opinions, and their perspectives on political parties and leadership. It also outlines their views on the current system and public sentiment toward constitutional amendment. Furthermore, the survey highlights the dissatisfaction caused by frequent government changes and the citizens' expectations for stability, alongside their aspirations for future improvements in the country.

In the survey, a vast majority (83.7%) of respondents stated that social media (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) is their primary source of information and news. Citizens in the Madhesh and Lumbini Provinces use social media as a source of information more than those in the Kathmandu Valley, whereas in Kathmandu, mainstream media maintains a presence alongside social media. Following social media, the second, third, fourth, and fifth positions for news and information sources are television, online media, radio, and newspapers, respectively. While radio holds the third position in the Madhesh and Lumbini Provinces, in the Kathmandu Valley, this medium falls behind online media and newspapers. This indicates that radio still maintains its reach in rural areas.

Just as the use of mainstream media as a source of information and news is decreasing and the use of social media is increasing, the survey highlights that the influence of mainstream media in shaping opinions is also declining while that of social media is growing. Regarding the statement that the role of mainstream media (newspapers, radio, TV, online) is weak, 50.1 percent agree, while 73.5 percent agree with the statement that the role of social media (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, TikTok, etc.) is significant. Although mainstream media maintains a grip on opinion formation in Kathmandu, it appears quite weak in Madhesh Province. Furthermore, the role of social media is also seen as more significant in the Kathmandu Valley compared to Madhesh and Lumbini Provinces.

Regarding the statement that the opinions of Nepalis living abroad play a significant role in influencing the views of the general public, 63.7 percent agree, indicating that the influence of the diaspora cannot be ignored in the formation of public opinion. There is a visible connection between social media and those living abroad in terms of shaping discourse. Furthermore, 80.1 percent agree with the statement that a specific leader can spread propaganda (misinformation/disinformation) through social media. Additionally, 72 percent disagree with the statement that propaganda systematically spread by party organizations does not affect the general public; this clearly demonstrates the extent to which social media can influence 'agenda setting'.

Those who maintain loyalty to a political party (21.4%) are outnumbered nearly three and a half times by those who say they do not hold such loyalty (77.5%). This indicates a growing tendency among ordinary citizens to identify as independent rather than showing a close affinity to political parties. The number of individuals remaining independent rather than maintaining a party affiliation is on the rise. At a time when terms like 'old parties' and 'the same old leaders' have become widely prevalent among the public, ordinary citizens expect reforms within the old parties. For positive change, a vast majority (92%) see it as necessary for the working style of the old political parties to change. Those who believe there must be a generational transfer of power and new leadership within the old political parties stand at 91.8 percent, while 89.7 percent believe it is necessary for the newly emerged political parties to

deliver, and 89.3 percent believe it is necessary for independent individuals to take leadership. This indicates that the public is dissatisfied with the leadership and working style of the old political parties rather than the parties themselves.

Although a narrative has been formed that old parties are more criticized on social media (80%) and new parties are more popular on social media (81%), this perception is even more prevalent in Kathmandu. There are 56.9 percent who believe there is not much difference between old and new parties when they work while in government, and 55.3 percent are confident that new parties can do the work that old parties could not. However, 81.8 percent state they can be certain that change will occur if some new individual, rather than a new or old party, comes into leadership.

The fact that 59.4 percent say they will vote for a different party in the next elections than the one they previously voted for indicates that voters are moving toward casting their ballots based on agendas rather than specific parties; this aligns to some extent with the recent trend of seeking to maintain independence from political ideology. Furthermore, 35.4 percent say they will give priority to an independent candidate when voting in the next federal elections, and the situation appears similar for the provincial elections. There are even more people looking for independent candidates in local elections. This attraction toward independent candidates is a matter that requires serious reflection from political parties.

Regarding the statement that political leadership has prioritized the people's desires, 81 percent disagree, and 87.8 percent disagree with the statement that political leadership listens to them or treats them well. Furthermore, 87.1 percent say their trust in political leadership has decreased over the past few years, which shows that confidence in political leadership is extremely low. Those who believe that frequent government changes have hindered public service delivery and development activities stand at 95.5 percent, while 96.4 percent believe a stable government is necessary in the country. Pointing to this political instability as the cause, while some are currently debating constitutional amendment for the sake of stability, ordinary citizens also appear to be leaning toward that direction. Those who see the necessity of constitutional amendment stand at 72.6 percent, which is significant in the current context. However, a majority (53.8%) are optimistic about overall improvements in the country in the coming days. If reforms in the working style of political parties, the development of trustworthy leadership, the implementation of a strong democratic system, and a guarantee of political stability can be achieved, further accomplishments can certainly be attained; for this, political parties need to emphasize healthy competition and cooperation.



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Publication Date: November 2025

Acknowledgments

Social Science Baha team, led by **Dr. Jeevan Baniya** and **Sakar Sapkota**, for survey data collection.

Shehnaz Banu for suggestions on the publication layout and **Bikram Chandra Majumdar** for the design.

The views, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this report may not necessarily represent the institutional stance of Purak Asia.